Journal of Administration Overseas

VOLUME VIII/NUMBER 2/APRIL 1969

SIX SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE Quarterly net; Annual Subscription 28s. including postage.

INCLUDING

The Poverty of Panchayats
by Dr. Opeyemi Gla

Intermediate Technology
and its Administrative Implications
by Dr. E. F. Schumacher and G. McRobie

Training for Development Administration
in Western Nigeria
by Dr. Adebayo Adedeji

BOOK REVIEWS
by Tarlok Singh, Prof. J. D. B. Mitchell
S. S. Khera, C. V. Raghavulu

Published for the Ministry of Overseas Development
HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

This *Journal* is edited in the Development Administration and Training Department of the Ministry of Overseas Development. It aims at providing a medium for the exchange of information about administration at all levels, whether in local government or in the organization of central departments. It also covers land tenure. Nothing in the *Journal* should be read as necessarily representing official views or policy unless this is specifically stated. The responsibility for facts and opinions expressed in signed articles rests with the authors.

Notes to Contributors

Articles for publication in the *Journal* from serving officers and others with knowledge and experience in the field covered by the *Journal* are welcome and should be addressed to the Editor, Development Administration and Training Department, Ministry of Overseas Development, Eland House, Stag Place, Victoria, London S.W.1.

Books for review, reports and communications for the Editor should be similarly addressed.

Twenty off-prints are supplied free of charge on request to contributors whose articles are published. Requests for off-prints should be made at the time articles are submitted. Off-prints in excess of twenty are charged for at a rate relative to the length of the article.

Orders and subscriptions should be sent to Her Majesty's Stationery Office at the addresses given below.

The Government does not accept responsibility for any of the private or trade advertisements included in this publication.

Published by

HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

49 High Holborn, London, W.C.1

13a Castle Street, Edinburgh, EH2 3AR
109 St. Mary Street, Cardiff, CF1 1JW

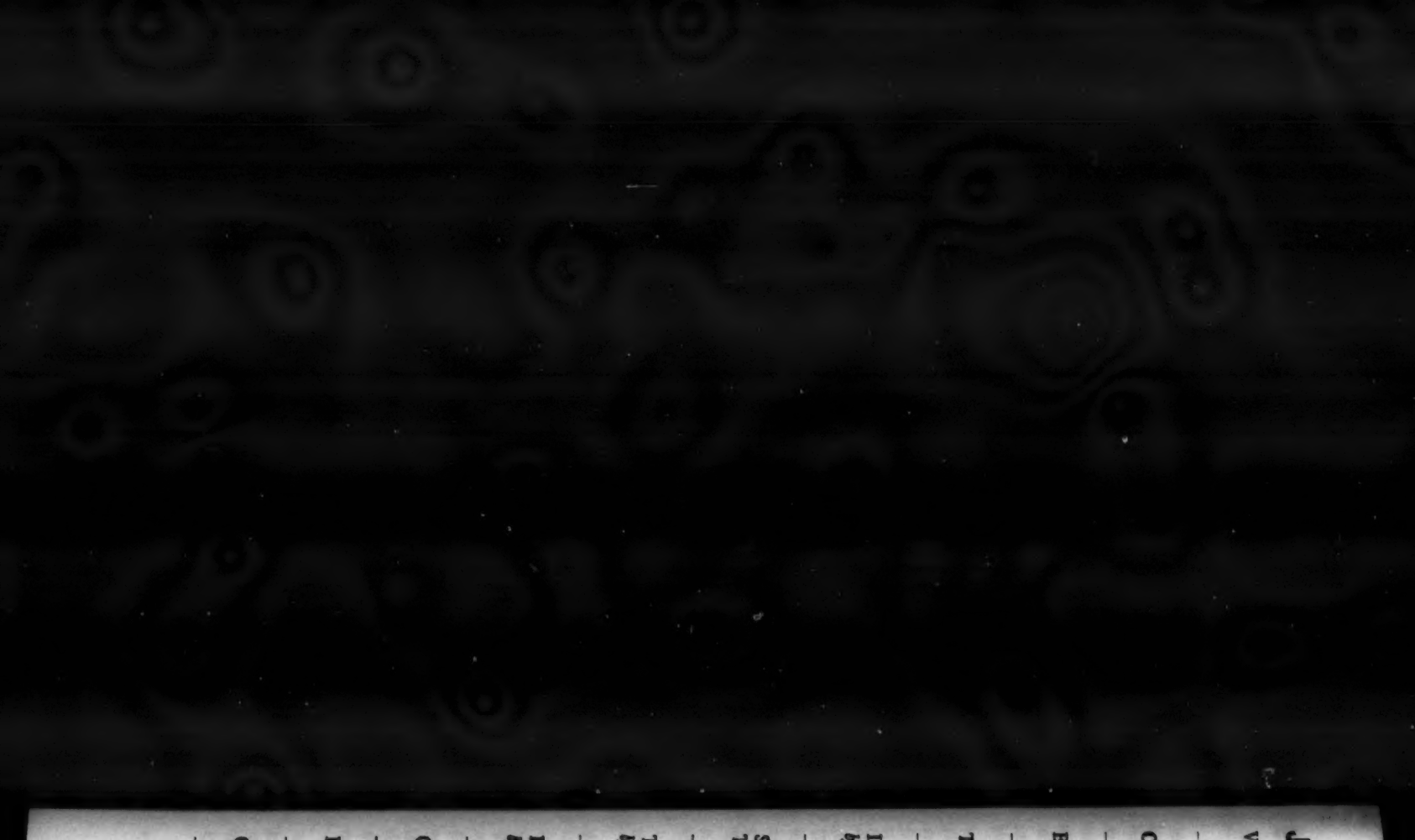
Brazennose Street, Manchester, M60 8AS 50 Fairfax Street, Bristol, BS1 3DE

258 Broad Street, Birmingham 1 7 Linenhall Street, Belfast, BT2 8AY

or through any bookseller

Price 6s. 6d. net, annual subscription 28s., including postage

© Crown copyright 1970



Journal of Administration Overseas

Volume VIII/Number 2/April 1969

Contents

Editor's Notes 75

The Poverty of Panchayats, *by Dr. Opeyemi Ola* 77

Intermediate Technology and its Administrative Implications, *by Dr. E. F. Schumacher and G. McRobie* 89

Some Problems of Administrative Training: The Northern Nigerian Experience, *by Dr. John D. Chick* 97

Training for Development Administration in Western Nigeria, *by Dr. Adebayo Adedeji* 111

Local Government Elections in a One-Party State, *by Simon Hardwick* 124

Quarterly Notes 135

Book Reviews 144

Other Books Received 154

Editor's Notes

MANY of those concerned with bringing social and economic progress to the less developed countries, believe that the key to success lies in discovering how best to stimulate the fullest possible popular participation in all facets of development in the rural areas which contain the great majority of the citizenry. It is useful to subject any preconceived notion to the test of practical examination and in this Number Dr. Ola, from Nigeria, questions whether any real progress will be achieved in rural India so long as the national policy gives the main development role to administrative units at grass roots level.

Dr. Ola looks critically at the Panchayati Raj and the magnitude of the poverty in rural India. He doubts whether the Panchayat system is geared to meet the basic purpose of its creation – the socio-economic development of the rural areas through popular participation in Community Development. He believes that radical reform is called for and that rapid change can best be achieved through central/state Government intervention. Certainly a number of Indian District Officers who have been questioned tend to share Dr. Ola's doubts; from their own practical viewpoint in the field they see the myriad small Panchayats with their limited tenuous communications to block, district, state and national fountain-heads, as too isolated and parochial to achieve major rural progress through self-help, on their own. As Mr. Raghavulu's review of *Readings on Panchayati Raj* shows, a number of Indian academics who have closely studied the Panchayat system, also share many of these views.

Perhaps Dr. Ola's article will stimulate a further contribution from a protagonist of the panchayat/democracy system.

Meantime, Dr. Schumacher and George McRobie argue very forcefully that the answer to rural poverty in the third world lies in the full development of intermediate technology. They suggest that the impetus and direction should be given by voluntary agencies which should themselves first be provided with an adequate infrastructure of facilities. No doubt many will question how far voluntary agencies can really be geared to become the main driving force of a rural social and economic break-through. Surely, however, few will doubt that to the masses of the rural peasantry of the less developed countries, the effective development of intermediate technology, as the authors propound in their article, offers a means of bringing progress to village level that should be firmly grasped and furthered. For the majority of them are still waiting to see the new prosperity that all hoped the era of independence would bring.

From Nigeria we include two contrasting articles on training. Dr. Chick looks back at the achievements of the Institute at Zaria – the highly successful prototype for public service training in anglo-phone Africa. In his balanced review Dr. Chick puts the success into perspective. From humble origins as a clerical training school to semi-autonomous status within Ahmadu Bello University responsible for a diploma and degree course in administration, the

Institute became a vital source of supply for the Northern Nigerian civil service. But while it had prospered on improvisation in its earlier years, it was not provided by its Government with a clearly defined task to carry out to meet the needs of the independence era – perforce it functioned pragmatically without, on the academic side, a theoretical basis or on Caesar's side, effective policy control. This want of a purposeful framework made fertile ground for internal differences between the British and American academics upon whose aid the Institute largely depended.

As a result Dr. Chick shows that Zaria has not been able to meet the challenge of the Nineteen Sixties as effectively as its earlier promise had led many to expect.

Dr. Adedeji on the other hand writes with enthusiasm and optimism of the Institute of Public Administration at the University of Ife which commenced its first post graduate diploma course in Public Administration in October 1963. Deliberately planned to meet the post independence needs of Western Nigeria and with a flexible approach to new methods and new courses, Dr. Adedeji, its director, is confident that his Institute is meeting and will continue to meet the increasingly sophisticated needs of the Public Service Administrators whom he is training in the hard but clearly stimulating school at Ife.

Finally we publish an article on Tanzania'a first one-party democracy local government elections with which Simon Hardwick was closely concerned. With very little time to prepare and with complex regulations to follow (such indeed as would surely deter many U.K. candidates from standing for local election at all), that the whole process was completed as planned was no mean achievement in itself. Although the same popular interest was not apparent at local level as had been shown at the earlier one-party national elections, the electorate made good use by and large of their first genuine opportunity for nearly a decade, to choose their Councillors by ballot from a choice of candidates.

The Poverty of Panchayats

By Dr. OPEYEMI OLA

Dr. Ola is a Lecturer in Political Science, School of Social Studies, University of Lagos, Nigeria.

Introduction

THIS essay is concerned with an aspect of India's poverty – the poverty of panchayats; an attempt is made to develop the hypothesis that democratic decentralization does not necessarily facilitate rapid rural development: in the specific context of rural India, this amounts to saying that the panchayats are small and poor units of community development and that they cannot in consequence be vehicles of rapid economic change. The essay is in consequence an examination of the effectiveness of the panchayat system in the community development schemes of India and an analysis of the factors conditioning its poverty.

Background

Decentralization and Development

A body of literature is growing up in development administration. In the literature, attempts are made, among other things, to relate administrative structure and techniques to economic development, and to advance the theory that decentralization, as a governmental or administrative technique can in one way or the other facilitate economic development.[1] Decentralization can be defined as the devolution of authority for policy determination and execution in certain delimited spheres to local bodies. Decentralization, as opposed to the concentration of all authority in the hands of the central government, is practised for various reasons in many countries. India is a country in which, for example, decentralization is practised for the purpose of rapid rural development.

The premises of the theory that "decentralization facilitates rapid development", a theory which is widely held among Indian leaders, should be examined. The sum of all the arguments for decentralization is that it would result in substantial augmentation of the rate of economic growth in India,[2] because the communities vested with decentralized powers would, in addition to the central and state governments, become effective vehicles of socio-economic development.[3] Such an argument proceeds from certain premises.

[1]See for example, United Nations, *Decentralization for National and Local Development* (United Nations, New York, 1962) which is a comparative study of the forms, uses and advantages of decentralization in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas.

[2]Braibanti, Ralph and Joseph Spengler, *Administration and Economic Development in India* (Cambridge University Press, London, 1963), pp. 94 and 109. See also Potter, C. David, *Government in Rural India: An Introduction to Contemporary District Administration* (G. Bell & Sons, London, 1964) p. 18.

[3]At the Annual Meeting of the Indian National Congress at Bhavgnar in Jan. 1961, Nehru expressed the hope that the Community Development movement would revolutionize the entire rural life of India – Potter, C. David, *op. cit.* p. 47.

The first is that the herculean task of development cannot be tackled alone by the central and state governments whose resources are limited. The task of development of necessity involves the mobilization of the whole nation. Secondly, locally-felt needs can be properly identified only by the local communities and it is they alone which can effectively plan their realization. A corollary of this viewpoint is that the central government is too far off to appreciate the pressing needs of the vast rural areas. Thirdly, centrally formulated development schemes face the risk of failure of execution and realization or rejection at the local levels if the communities are not involved in the planning process.[4] It is for these various reasons that community development bodies are given recognition in India's scheme of development.

The Decentralized Structures for Development

Community development in India, contrary to the conventional meaning of the idea is not a spontaneous people's movement. Although its structural framework is based on rural communities, the origin of community development and its administrative structure are associated with the central and state governments.[5] In the first instance, the panchayat system, as a basis of rural development, is a statutory creation. In the second place, the panchayats are structurally linked with the state and central organs of government.

The organization of community development in rural India takes the form of a three tier structure. Known as the *Panchayat Raj* the three tiers are at the village, block and district levels. At each of these levels, there is a council which is directly or indirectly elected. The council at the village level is named the *panchayat**, that at the block level is called the *panchayat samiti* and *zila parishad* is the name of the council at the district level. While the members of the village panchayat are directly elected, the *panchayat samiti* is composed of the chairmen of the former body. In turn, the chairmen of the *panchayat samitis* constitute the *zila parishad*.

Each of the three bodies mentioned above is given some authority in the field of rural development. Both the village and block panchayats have prescribed functions across the whole field of development work – agriculture, cottage industries, animal husbandry, health and rural sanitation.[6] The village panchayats have also the responsibility for the management of public

[4]*Ibid.*, pp. 18 & 30. Nagapatinam Kasi, for example, believes that in securing people's co-operation in community development, a new organization is required, that the government has to be brought nearer the village. See his "Panchayat Raj and Rural Development", *Development and Civilizations* No. 29 March, 1967.

[5]Bailey, F. G., "Decisions by Consensus in Councils & Committees with Special Reference to Village and Local Government in India" in *Political Systems and the Distribution of Power* edited by Michael Banton (Tavistock Publications, London, 1965), p. 17.

[6]Kasi, Nagapatinam, *op. cit.* p. 61.

*This Journal has published a number of articles on the Panchayat Raj, including: *Pressure Politics in Panchayats*, by P. D. Sharma, (*Vol. VII; No. 2; April* 1968). *Government in the villages of Modern India*, by William Alexander, (*Vol. VII; No. 1; January* 1968). *Financial Administration of Panchayati Raj*, by K. Venkataram, (*Vol. VI; No. 4; October* 1967). *The Role of the Block Development Officer*, by G. Ram Reddy (*Vol. VI; No. 2; April* 1967). *A Study of Panchayat Elections*, by K. Seshadri, (*Vol. V; No. 1; January* 1966). *Administration of Rural Small-scale Industry*, by K. Seshadri, (*Vol. IV; No. 4; October* 1965). *Analysis of the Community Development Administration*, by K. N. Singh, (*Vol. IV; No. 2; April* 1965). *Local Government Institutions in India and Africa*, by Lord Hailey, (J.L.A.O., IV,1,2). (Ed.)

utility services.[7] In India's third development plan, the blocks' main responsibilities consisted of agriculture, animal husbandry and co-operation, road development and medium to large irrigation projects. In any event, the block is the primary unit of operation in all matters of rural development. The zila parishads have as their responsibility the co-ordination and consolidation of the plans prepared by the panchayat samitis, the supervision of the activities of the panchayat samitis and the tendering of advice to the state governments on the various development activities undertaken in the districts.

The lowest tier, the village, is the smallest unit. A village panchayat is however not necessarily co-terminous with a traditional village. It may be co-terminous with a single large village or several contiguous villages.[8] A small village typically has a population of about 500 while the average village panchayat serves a population of about 5,000.[9] The average block consists of about a hundred villages and contains approximately 75,000. The district is by far the largest tier containing on the average rather less than 2,000 villages and over a million people.[10] In sum, India has about half a million villages which have been organized and are being mobilized for social and economic development. Each of the tiers, in collaboration with co-operative societies and voluntary organizations is expected to play an active role in India's five-year-development plans. Organization-wise, the rural development scheme is elaborate and vast. The extent of its vastness is portrayed in the fact that at the end of the second five-year development plan, there were 31,100 blocks serving about 370,000 villages with a population of two hundred million.[11]

The Administrative Structure for Rural Development

The structure created for India's rural development scheme needs men before it can function. The interaction of structure, men and material is what in conventional social science wisdom is called administration. It is in administrative control and managership that the inseparability of community development and the state is manifested.

The "manager" of community development at the village level is the *Gram Sevak* who is in charge of a circle of seven to ten villages with an approximate population of 8,000 to 14,000. The functions of the *Gram Sevak* (who has been specially recruited and trained to work with villagers) are many.[12] Primarily, his function is to condition rural change by persuading and educating villagers to abandon inefficient traditional modes of existence in favour of modern ways. His functions include the demonstration of efficient agricultural methods, the distribution of seeds, the procurement of technical assistance and financial aid for the villagers and the supervision of village community development projects. The *Gram Sevak* is directly responsible to the Block Development Officer.

[7]Hanson, A. H., *The Process of Planning: Study of India's Five-Year Plans*, 1950-1964 (Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 423.
[8]Kasi, Nagapatinam, *op. cit.* p. 61.
[9]Bailey, F. G. *op. cit.* p. 17.
[10]Neale, Walter C., *India: The Search for Unity, Democracy and Progress* (P. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. New Jersey, 1965), p. 32–33.
[11]Kasi, Nagapatinam, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[12]Tinker, Hugh, *op. cit.*, p. 112–113.

The Block Development Officer is in charge of the block. His main functions include the planning and initiation of development at the block level, data collection for rural development planning and the control of block community development projects. To assist the prosecution of block community development plans, there are a number of extension officers.

At the apex of the rural structure for development is the District Officer to whom the Block Development Officer is responsible.[13] The District Officer is technically in charge of everything within his district. Unlike the Gram Sevak and the Block Development Officer, the District Officer is not confined to the sphere of rural development alone. His responsibilities also include the administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order – the latter being a carry-over from the colonial era. The District Officer is the chairman of the District Development Committee. He also tours the whole of the district to inspect and supervise community development projects. The administration of community development, it should be added, is co-ordinated at the district level.

The District Officer, being an employee of the state government, is responsible to the state whose chief minister has community development under his direct control. At the national level, the National Economic Council, a body charged with the overall responsibility of economic development in India, can be said to bear the responsibility for community development. It can thus be seen that community development in India has a double-faced structure. The one face reflects the image of the local level at which rural self-help is expected to germinate, the other reflecting the pyramidal chain of authority linking the village panchayat with the nation above, linking the Gram Sevak with the State's chief minister and with the central government.[14]

The Evolution of the Panchayat System

A brief mention can be made of the evolution of the complex machinery of rural development. The word "panchayat" originally meant the council of five which governed the traditional Indian village.[15] The village and its government has been of primary significance in India since time immemorial and India's successive conquerors laid the foundation of local administration on the village.

The contemporary importance of the village in India's political system has its inspiration from Ghandi who idealized the village as a self-sufficient economic unit and a spiritually close-knit community upon which modern India could be built. Ghandi's philosophy was inherited by the Indian National Congress. The idea and practice of community development also derived inspiration from A. Mayer, an American who, along with others,

[13] *While the district officer is the superior officer of the B.D.O. in the state service and supervises the generality of government business in every block, the B.D.O. is executive officer of the Samiti Council and responsible to the Chairman and members (not to the D.O.) for implementing decisions of the Council.* (Ed.)

[14] This is particularly the case in the West Bengal State, see Bhattacharya Mohit and M. M. Singh, *Government in Metropolitan Calcutta* (Asia Publishing House, London, 1965), p. 91.

[15] Potter, C. David, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

started the Etawah project in 1948.[16] Four years later, panchayats were statutorily created as vehicles of rural development.

Rural Poverty in India

The extensive organizational machinery for rural development and the zeal with which the Indian political élite has preached the nobility of local self-help are indicators of the gravity of the rural problem in India. Over 80 per cent of all Indians live in rural areas and they share the lesser part of their nation's wealth. The *per capita* urban income in India was £22 at the end of the Nineteen Fifties and the rural standard was still lower. On the average, about 20 per cent of the rural population and 13 per cent of the urban, live beneath the poverty line. The chronic problem of rural poverty is aggravated by the population explosion, the rate of population growth being 1.8 to 1.9 per cent per annum,[17] so great that the increase of food production is outpaced by the annual population increase.

One of the factors responsible for such poverty is the land/population ratio which is very high. Besides, much of the land itself is poor and its productivity is in consequence low. Apart from the land poverty, many people lack adequate shelter; many lack sufficient food and a third of the population suffer from chronic malnutrition and undernutrition.[18]

In recent years the Indian political élite has made great attempts to exorcise poverty from rural India. How far this exorcising exercise has succeeded or failed and the factors conditioning the outcome are analysed in the paragraphs that follow.

The Productivity of Panchayats

An examination of the productivity of the panchayat is one way of measuring how far the battle against poverty has succeeded. The productivity can be examined in three broad fields of community development, social development, agriculture and rural industry.

The panchayats have had some achievements in the field of social development. Hundreds of schools have been built in the rural areas. This attempt to accelerate rural development by the promotion of education has faced two obstacles. The first is that the schools are insufficient in number and the insufficiency is partly attributable to the inadequate attention paid to education in the five-year development plans. In the second five-year plan, for example, expenditure on education was about one-third to two-fifths of the expenditure on large and medium-sized industries.[19] The second obstacle is that the wealthy sections of the community rather than the poor ones, have benefited most from rural education.[20]

Despite the many new schools, it seems clear that insufficient has been achieved in the field of education at Panchayat level to stimulate rural development. The illiteracy rate is still far too high, school places far too few.[21]

[16]Neale, Walter C., *op. cit.*, p. 38.
[17]Bauer, T., *Indian Economic Policy and Development* (Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1961), pp. 13, 15, 137, 142–3.
[18]Neale, Walter C., *Economic Change in Rural India* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1962), p. 142.
[19]Bauer, T. *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[20]Hanson. A. H. *The Process of Planning: A Study of India's Five-Year Plans* (Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 426.
[21]*Ibid*, p. 16.

It is doubtful whether the type of education provided in rural India is functional in terms of the rural development goals. In the first place, the education is not high enough to equip the rural élite with the knowledge required for rural development planning. In the second place, technical education has not been made a priority in the rural education scheme, and this makes the realization of a rural revolution in the fields of industry and agriculture all the more difficult. To the extent that rural education is inadequate in meeting the needs of rural development, to that extent will the Indian rural education system perpetuate rural poverty. There is even another danger in the creation of an inadequate educational system. This lies in the emergence of a semi-educated class unable to find "white-collar" jobs in the rural areas, psychologically unprepared to take to primitive agriculture, and saddened by the uncertainty of employment in the urban areas in which they take migratory refuge.

The construction of rural roads is one of the functions of the panchayats. In this connection efforts have been made to construct a network of roads. However, many of the roads are of poor quality. The more important point is that the outlay on roads has been very small, it being only 5.1 per cent of the planned expenditure in the India's second five-year development plan.[22] The inescapable conclusion, indeed a pre-eminent feature of rural India, is that there is an insufficiency of roads. A major responsibility for this inadequacy lies with the panchayat system which has proved ineffective in performing its road construction functions.

Lack of an adequate rural road system inhibits social and economic change, for it tends to perpetuate physical immobility itself leading to a parochial attitude of mind not readily receptive to new and progressive ideas upon which all forms of novel and creative change are based. Viewed from a materialistic perspective, the inadequacy of rural roads is a serious obstacle to the transportation of rural goods and the growth of rural trade. Thus the poverty of roads helps to perpetuate rural poverty.

The panchayat contribution to the improvement of health, an important infrastructural part of rural development, is worth brief examination. The panchayats, notwithstanding the efforts made in this field, have not succeeded in substantially raising the standard of rural health which is still exceedingly low, with many serious endemic diseases[23] and sanitation generally of a primitive nature, an environment in which not unexpectedly the infant mortality rate is high.[24]

In sum, one can contend that the panchayat system has made only a small contribution to the strengthening of the infrastructure of rural development – too small to have any significant effect on the rate of rural economic growth. This inability to strengthen the infrastructure of rural development exemplifies both the magnitude of the challenges faced in the field of social development and the ineffectiveness of the panchayat system. Without adequate foundations it is difficult to imagine how such a system can be functional in terms of rapid rural change.

---

[22]Bauer, T., *op. cit.*, p. 31.
[23]Neale, Walter C., *India: The Search for Unity . . . op. cit.*, p. 37.
[24]Bauer, T., *op. cit.*, p. 16.

The point that the building of the infrastructure for rural development is in itself a delicate affair should be underscored. Its creation has to be accomplished with a certain balance, a certain equilibrium, with the superstructure. If a balance cannot be struck, community development efforts may even generate retrogression rather than progress. If the pace of growth in the social development fields (particularly health and education) should outstrip the growth in the agricultural and industrial fields, the net result would be increasing rural poverty.

Panchayats and Economic Productivity

An attempt will now be made to examine panchayat achievements in the domain of directly productive activities. Productivity in the agricultural field can be dealt with first. The increase of food production is one of the primary goals of India's community development scheme. Although the initial target of a 100 per cent increase in food production within a decade has not been reached, agricultural production, since the inception of the community development programme, has increased by 40 per cent.[25] This increase cannot however be attributed solely to panchayat efforts since it comprises growth in the community and non-community development sectors. Extra-panchayat sources explaining the rise in agricultural productivity include large-scale dams for irrigation purposes.

Competent observers of the rural Indian scene maintain that a vast primitive agricultural sector remains. They point out that rural agricultural productivity is low;[26] that the yields per acre of wheat, corn, barley, rice and cotton compare very unfavourably with those of more privileged nations. It has also been observed that a panchayat is ordinarily not production-minded.[27] The inescapable result of this apathy towards production is that the panchayat system has so far had only a small effect upon agricultural output. The rural officials' acceptance of the social stratification can be said to have adverse influence on agricultural productivity. This is because (in some villages) the officials ignore the poorer castes in favour of the influential and wealthy rural élite in the distribution of the benefits from the agricultural extension programme.[28]

In order to promote rural industry as another major goal of India's community development, cottage (and other kinds of) industries are encouraged. Those established include handloom weaving in Uttar Pradesh, brassware in the Moradabad district, textiles and ivory work in Kerala, silk embroidery in Banaras and pottery at Khurja in Bulandshar district.[29] This is a noteworthy achievement.

It would be interesting to examine further the contribution that the rural industries have made to the growth of rural wealth. The most significant

[25]Neale, Walter C., *India: The Search for Unity . . . op cit.*, p. 40.

[26]Neale, Walter C. *Economic Change in Rural India, op. cit.*, p. 142.
(*It should be noted, however, that new varieties of seed e.g. rice bred at the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines, have vastly increased yields in some parts of India.* [Ed.])

[27]Rosen, George, *Democracy and Economic Change in India* (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), p. 95.

[28]*Ibid.*, p. 167.

[29]Khera, S. S., *District Administration in India* (Asia Publishing House, London, 1963), p.243 and Neale, Walter C., *Economic Change in Rural India, op. cit.*, p. 17.

achievements have been made in the production of handloom cloth which was estimated to have increased from 742 million yards in 1950–51 to about 1900 million yards in 1960–61.[30] The handloom weaving industry provided employment for nearly three million weavers and secured exports of about Rs. 5 "*crores*" per annum. Progress has also been made in the raw silk industry in which the production of raw silk rose by nearly 45 per cent between 1951 and 1960.[31] This industry has provided full employment for 35,000 people. Important advances have also been made in other small-scale industrial fields, notably in sewing machines, bicycle-building, hardware and handtool industries.

Relatively speaking the achievements in this field are noteworthy, but the impact on rural economic growth may not be significant. It has been estimated that the expansion of the non-agricultural sector of the rural economy played only a minor role during the 1955–1965 period in the elevation of rural standards of living.[32] According to Hanson, the whole community development scheme in India has become one of the most wasteful forms of expenditure. It possesses a mere "paper" effectiveness. Hanson points at two serious shortcomings of rural planning in India. The first is that rural planning is *embryonic* despite the great emphasis put on it by political leaders. The second is that rural planning – even where it has been taken seriously – has little or no effect on the level of economic performance.[33] Hanson's views have been endorsed by other experts: Braibanti[34] Potter[35] and Neale[36] all paint a discouraging picture, albeit the last-named has noted some progress and has pointed out the difficulty of measuring the impact of the Panchayat system on economic growth.

The overall conclusion remains that the Panchayats planning and executive capacity has not proved equal to the immense task of effectively stimulating economic productivity.

Factors Conditioning the Poverty of Panchayats

Rural Poverty

The magnitude of poverty in rural India, which has been touched upon earlier, is one of the root causes of the poverty of panchayats. An economist has made the observation that capital investment in panchayat and non-panchayat villages is directly related to the level of income and wealth in land.[37] It seems valid therefore to suggest the proposition that extreme poverty tends to beget increasing poverty, that the degree of the retardation of economic growth in rural India is directly proportional to the depth of poverty therein.[38] The proposition can even be put in a quantitative form: the

[30] Bose, S. K., *op. cit.*, p. 176.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 249.
[32] Rosen, George, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
[33] Hanson, A. H., *op. cit.*, p. 247, 418. See also Alice C. Stone Ilichman, *Democratic Decentralization and Planning in Rural India* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1964), p. 238.
[34] Braibanti, Ralph and Joseph Spengler, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
[35] Potter, C. David, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[36] Neale, Walter C., *India: The Search for Unity*. *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[37] Rosen, George, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
[38] See for example Neale's *Economic Change in Rural India*, p. 288 where he links the problem of agricultural development in Uttar Pradish with the vicious circle of underdevelopment and overpopulation.

rate of economic growth in rural India is highly associated with the low-level rural income.

The above proposition admits of little dispute. It is, however, necessary to point out that acute lack of capital is the principal obstacle in the path of Indian rural development. Economic growth can be generated in part by money and capital. Where these are lacking, rapid economic growth is deprived of a vital instrument. The economic problem faced by rural India is also faced in some measure by the other underprivileged rural areas of the "third world". This problem is not unlike the problem of an under-privileged individual. Extreme poverty tends to perpetuate itself and in any case imposes formidable limitations on the chances and efforts of self-enrichment. In these circumstances one asks: how fast can economic growth take place in rural India where both money and capital (and the means of stimulating both) are in acute short supply?

In sum, one can make the observation that it is much easier for poverty to generate further poverty than to generate wealth; something of a miracle is needed if the reverse is to be achieved.

The Land Tenure System

Another factor which imposes limitations on the chances of rapid economic change in rural India is the land tenure system. Despite the series of land reforms carried out under the British and Indian administrations, land is still today not equitably distributed. A landed aristocracy still dominates the agricultural economy.[39] According to surveys made in 1953–54 and 1959–60, 10 per cent "top" rural households owned 56–58 per cent of all lands belonging to households: on the other hand the bottom 20 per cent owned no land at all.[40] The rural mass in India is in consequence a landless class, dispossessed of land, a vital means of production. This is where rural tropical Africa differs from rural India: the rural African has access to the ownership and use of land which in general is vested in the tribal community.

The increase in the production of agricultural wealth which is eagerly sought in rural India can hardly be realized when the villager possesses no land. With what shall he produce wealth? The fact and the argument that he could work for a landlord who can be the catalyst of rapid production evade the question. The age-long contradictions in the landlord system, its injustices, do not provide the landless tenant cultivator with the work incentive essential to stimulate enhanced productivity. A privileged landed aristocracy acting as the stimulator of rapid economic growth and the alleviator of mass poverty would be a singular historical experience. It is highly improbable that rural India would be the exception. Where wealth is consolidated in and monopolized by the hands of a privileged few, its expansion would of necessity be circumscribed – it is like the money in the hands of a compulsive miser; its restricted circulation and use limits its multiplication.

The Indian experience of rural development teaches one lesson. Where the level of scientific and technical education is low, capital in the form of *machinery* must of necessity be scarce: and the combination of mass poverty

[39]See for example Neale, Walter C., *Economic Change in Rural India*, p. 240. See also Neale, *India, Search for Unity*, p. 31.
[40]Rosen, George, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

in *machinery* and *land* constitutes one of the fundamental causes of poverty. A poverty which is conditioned in such a complex way cannot be easily uprooted.

Rigid Social Stratification

In analysing the poverty of panchayats, one must not fail to examine the social environment. The dearth of capital and the land tenure system cannot fully account for the poverty. The restrictive social environment contributes in no small measure to it.

The Indian social environment is restrictive because hierarchy is its dominant feature and social immobility the outward manifestation of that hierarchy. An observation of Indian society suggests a rather significant hypothesis: the greater the rigidity of social stratification, the slower is the rate of economic growth and change. In other words, the rate and the intensity of economic change is in inverse ratio to the rigidity of social stratification. The validity of this hypothesis is not obscure. A rigid social stratification is a suffocator of ambition. In this environment all too easily do a majority feel that it is futile to struggle against the existing order. Where the social environment scales off the sky of aspirations and dreams, man tends to succumb to earth-bound fatalism and sterility.

There is no doubt that the rigid hierarchical society has contributed to the poverty of rural India. The Indian society is organized into several castes each of which is an endogamous occupation group.[41] The Indian rural economy thus in large measure reflects the traditional social order. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts at occupational changes have often met with resistance. The social restriction on occupational mobility stifles economic motivations and it is probably one of the root causes of the inertia and spiritual depression encountered in rural India.[42]

The effect of the rigid social stratification on the economy cannot be measured with precision. It is apparent, however, that the perpetuation of the traditional social order is also a perpetuation of rural poverty. This is so for two reasons. Firstly, the rural economy is deprived of potential manpower and talented skills when individuals are restricted by occupational immobility associated with the caste system. Secondly, the meagre fruits of community development schemes in India have been enjoyed principally by the privileged few[43] while a very great number indeed have remained underprivileged. In consequence, the structure of the traditional social order acts as a powerful constraint on rural economic change.

Factional Politics

Politics, are yet another cause of the poverty of panchayats. In general one can say that the Indian village tends to be a hotbed of factional politics.[44]

Factionalism has direct consequences for community development efforts. In as much as factions rend panchayats, they lead to instability in the rural

[41]Neale, Walter C., *India: Search for Unity*, pp. 22–3.
[42]Bauer, T., *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[43]Rosen, George, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
[44]Neale, Walter C., *India: The Search for Unity*, pp. 34 and 35. See also Nicholas, Ralph W., *Factions: a Comparative Analysis* in Banton, Michael *op. cit.*, pp. 30–41 for a study of village faction in India.

politico-economic system whose foundation is the village. What is more important is that factionalism results in *disensus* about community goals and priority of needs. A united community effort at socio-economic development is thus seriously hampered and the massive mobilization of rural India for economic development is in consequence incapacitated. The persistence of factional politics in rural India raises, therefore, great obstacles in the path of eradicating rural poverty.

Conclusions

The Indian political élite has zealously attacked the problem of poverty on the national, state and local levels. On the local level, action has been based on the belief that "democratic decentralization" would facilitate rapid economic growth in rural India. In this article, an attempt has been made to show that this theory is not a valid one. Decentralized democratic structures, the panchayats, have shown very little capacity for productivity in the social development, agricultural and industrial fields of community development. What is more important is that the decentralized structures have not proved effective in bringing rapid socio-economic change to rural India. The panchayat system, conjured to exorcise the menace of poverty, has been incapacitated and shorn of the magic powers of change it was presumed to possess.

A rural population menaced by low-level education and great poverty can have neither democracy nor development at a fast pace. It appears that the motive force for rapid socio-economic change cannot be generated within rural India. The motive force for rapid rural transformation can only be generated by a source or group external to the rural community. The group that is eminently suited for the miracle of rapid rural change is either the *national* or *state* government (or both). Either of them has to assume the role of rural development by supplying the ideas, the managers, the technicians and the capital.

The task of rapid rural socio-economic development is of higher priority than rural democracy. The emphasis put on the democratization of rural development in the face of overwhelming poverty, appears to be misplaced. The vicious circle of poverty, ignorance, disease and authoritarianism in rural India can only be effectively broken by the acceleration of economic development. On this all the emphasis should lie.

If the democratization of rural development policy persists in India, then certain structural changes have to be made in the socio-economic and administrative order if the chance for rapid change is to be improved. The caste foundation of the land tenure system as well as the rigid caste hierarchy would have to be altered by governmental intervention. Otherwise, the rigid social stratification will continue to suffocate attempts at rapid socio-economic change. The structure of the panchayat system itself needs to be changed. The three-tier rural development structure could beneficially be changed to a two-tier structure. The tiers should either be the village and the district or the block and the district. A three-tier structure brings complexity, delay and increased inter-group conflict in the rural policy-making process. A more fundamental point is that the block as the primary unit of development is too small to be

viable. The district in terms of size is the more appropriate unit. The block or the village can be paired with it for the dual purpose of operating minor development schemes and democratized involvement with community development.

The administrative framework for community development also needs changes. The goals of community development in rural India are too comprehensive to permit realization. The fewer the goals the better is the possibility of achieving them. Besides, the administrative framework is controlled particularly at the block level by a dual system of authority. Such duality, for reasons of efficiency and responsibility, has to be eliminated. It appears also that the officials involved in the direction of community development are too many and their number should therefore be reduced. At the district level, the level which has been suggested in this essay as the primary unit of development, there should be an official (of outstanding experience and qualification) who should be in charge of district development. Under the existing system, the District Officer performs several roles which preclude his concentration on rural development. It would take long before rural development can really see the light of day if there is no high-level, devoted and full time administrative leadership. In fact, one could suggest that rural development would be faster when directed and planned by an experienced and competent administrator than when it is placed under the leadership of faction-torn, inadequately educated and inexperienced panchayats.

Radical and fundamental changes are necessary in the traditional and established order of rural India if there is to be rapid socio-economic change. Either the central and state governments should assume the full role of rural transformer and innovator or the existing decentralized structures should be fundamentally reformed. Of the two alternatives the former appears to the author of this article a more effective choice. In any event, change in the traditional order and the existing decentralized structure for rural development is a pressing need; there is no real hope for success in the battle with rural poverty in India unless and until these changes take place.

Intermediate Technology and its Administration Implications

By E. F. Schumacher and G. McRobie

Dr. Schumacher is Economic Adviser to the National Coal Board and Mr. McRobie is an economist working with intermediate technology development.

After twenty years of aid, and nearing the end of the development decade of special effort to accelerate economic growth in developing countries, there is "naught for our comfort" and indeed much to be apprehensive about.

In practically every developing country the picture is much the same. The common characteristics are familiar enough, namely mass migration to the cities and massive rural unemployment and underemployment. Rates of growth are disappointingly low, and in some cases, as recent studies are showing, even recorded growth rates may be largely illusory.

These are the general symptoms of a widespread malaise. There are "social" symptoms, again common to most developing countries in varying degrees, which are disturbing because experience has shown that they are not easily eradicable once they take firm hold. One is the polarization of society into the "dual society", characterized by the emergence of a small, very rich, politically powerful and city-centred élite, which draws its values (and not infrequently much of its wealth) from the west and – perhaps most damaging of all – its education, especially as regards economics, from the same source. The dual society has many aspects. The economic system on which it is founded does not create large numbers of new jobs – rather the reverse. At the same time, the educational system to which it is inclined tends to nourish the brain drain and create increasing numbers of educated unemployed, rather than to revivify national and local culture and equip young people with the skills and knowledge needed to earn a living from the resources of their own environment. (There is an internal brain drain too, from the countryside to the cities). Nor is it difficult to discern connections between the economy of the dual society and the distorted income structures which are emerging from the pockets of capital-intensive, high-salaried and high-wage structured industries which are based upon imported capital or copied from the west. Two other salient features of this economy are rural stagnation and chronic balance of payments difficulties. Foreign aid, it was hoped, would so stimulate productive capacities of developing countries that they would be able to build up their exports, repay the loans and at the same time increase their standards of life. But this has not happened. More and more, developing countries are having to borrow money to pay interest on money already borrowed; meantime the rural areas stagnate and unemployment grows.

These are symptoms, manifestations of an approach to development which is based upon western technologies and their related institutions in the fields

of education, provision for health, and ways of living. More precisely, they are the results of directly transferring technologies from the industrialised to the developing countries. If this seems a sweeping generalisation, it is worth considering the reasons in slightly greater detail.

(*a*) Western technologies reflect the fact that in the industrialised countries, capital is relatively cheap but labour is relatively scarce and dear. Exactly the opposite is the case in developing countries. Accordingly, a machine which employs a lot of capital and little labour will be economic in the west, but not necessarily so in a developing country.

(*b*) Much modern technology has been designed for use in large-scale plants, which presupposes an environment of large markets, skilled management, trained and disciplined labour; ample supplies of closely specified spares, raw materials, fuel and power; adequate and speedy maintenance, and so on. Where one or more of these pre-requisites is not present, capital goes to waste. In most developing countries, markets are small and fragmented or seasonal; distribution channels are not well developed; skilled management of the kind needed for large, sophisticated capital aggregations is a scarce and costly commodity; moreover, there are customs, beliefs and systems of authority among working men which are unknown in the west and which often conflict with the disciplines demanded by advanced technology. Spares, supplies and maintenance are notoriously difficult to come by and because the labour skills are also not in abundant supply for this kind of work and labour's bargaining position is strong, labour costs also tend to be high.

An industrial economist with wide field experience has summed the situation up like this: "Economies of scale are not just the product of technical coefficients; they cannot be realized unless the co-operating economic and social factors are favourable". Nor can these co-operating factors be made favourable overnight, or even in a decade if experience teaches us anything. (Consequently the high rate of capital accumulation which occurs in the west through capital-intensive technologies, does not take place).

(*c*) Even working below capacity, some advanced technologies can produce goods more cheaply in terms of price to the consumer, than can be done by traditional methods. This puts large numbers of traditional craftsmen out of business. They may remain unemployed in their villages, in which case the income generated in the village falls; or they migrate to the cities, where if they get jobs at all they are generally of the service type. There is, therefore often a decline in the real income of the community at large; this occurs especially if the new activity has a higher import content than the traditional one it displaces. If there is a high import content, much of the benefit goes to the rich countries which make and export that machinery. It is a good rule to remember that "income accrues where the work is done, not just where the goods happen to make their appearance". (Essentially the same problem can be seen in technologically advanced countries – the "depressed area" problem).

(*d*) Complex, capital intensive technology cannot spread widely throughout a developing country by any normal process of growth. The point can be simply illustrated by considering how much it costs to create one new workplace. In the west the cost of equipping one new workplace is of the order of

£1,500 – £2,000. Because capital is plentiful, many such workplaces can be created every year. Because the average level of income is high, a man can "buy his own workplace" by saving say a month's wages for ten or a dozen years. But at the same cost per workplace, a developing country can afford only a relatively small number of workplaces in a year. And because the average wage is low, the great majority of men could never in their own lifetimes save enough to "buy their own workplace". (For example, a man earning £1,500 a year can buy his own workplace, if it costs £1,500, by saving a month's wages for twelve years. But if his average wage is £150, he would have to save for 120 years to buy it.) In short, if the technology is too expensive to be afforded by large numbers of people, there can be no widespread improvement of production techniques.

It is chiefly for these reasons that industrialization in developing countries has not come up to expectations and has, in many instances, aggravated the imbalances and inequalities which it was hoped the process of industrialization would itself eliminate. That is to say, the main form of industrialization as introduced in developing countries has not proved to be effective and appropriate.

But this is not the only possible approach; and indeed a growing body of opinion both in aid-giving and aid-receiving countries is recognizing that a new approach to industrialization, that is technical innovation, is needed. The essence of the new approach is this: that whereas the conventional approach to industrialisation takes technology as a *given* factor in development, as if it were an unchangeable force to which all other factors must adapt themselves, those who advocate the new approach – and we certainly are such advocates – start by considering technology as an important *variable* element which can and should be adapted so as to work in harmony with the economic, social and cultural environments of developing countries. To be productive and effective, that is, technologies should take into account the differing factor endowments (of capital, skill, labour availability, social organization and so on) of developing countries compared with those of the western industrial countries.

Whether the form of industrialization we have pursued in the west promotes individual good and social harmony is a question much open to doubt; and in any case outside the scope of this article. But we think there would be more general agreement about the purposes which industrialization in the developing countries *should* be serving – what should be the characteristics of technical innovation. It is also beyond question that technical innovations of all kinds are needed; traditional ways of doing things have mostly reached the limits of their productivity.

In the first place, technical innovation should stimulate economic progress by making better use of available natural resources and labour power.

Secondly, it should promote social progress by enabling the mass of populations to share in the benefits and participate in new activities.

Thirdly, it should set in motion widespread technical improvement compared with what now exists in the country concerned. External standards, especially those current in the west, are likely to be irrelevant.

Fourthly, the technologies should be progressive over time – that is, they will change in response to the society's ability to pay for them and use them effectively.

A technology with these characteristics makes possible the creation of jobs where people are living now – in the rural areas and small towns – rather than in the already over-crowded (and high cost) metropolitan centres. It would make maximum use of local materials to meet local needs – for food, clothing, shelter and the basic services required by rural populations. The maximum effect is achieved if not only local materials are employed, but the capital equipment used for manufacturing or processing is also locally made: if, say, not only better tools are introduced but the tools themselves are locally made. For then the "circle of income generation" is complete.

A technology of this kind also minimizes the demands it makes upon very advanced managerial, technical and financial skills; while it would stretch peoples' abilities it would not be beyond them; it would make them feel more capable not more helpless (as they feel when confronted with some super-technology from the west). Finally, it would minimize demands on scarce foreign exchange, imports and savings.

The widespread introduction of low cost, "intermediate" technologies is in fact the only feasible way of providing a framework for real development. What do I mean by real development? I mean the creation of a kind of social infrastructure of education, organization and discipline which enables people to work themselves out of poverty.

Many people think that the causes of poverty must be visible factors – a lack of natural wealth or a lack of capital or a lack of transport. Admittedly, in some extreme cases, like that of the Eskimos in Polar regions, the environment may be so hostile that an adequate level of education, organization and discipline cannot be established. These are the exceptions. As a rule, the material factors are not primary and there are prosperous societies without any basis of natural wealth at all. A very interesting case, known to all of us, is Hongkong. And what about Switzerland or even England? Economics does not start with goods; it starts with people and their education, organization and discipline. Without these three, all resources remain latent, untapped, potential, like the marvellous unlimited resources of Brazil about which so many people have said that "Brazil is the country of the future and will always remain so". There has been plenty of opportunity to observe the truth of this thesis after the Second World War. Every country, no matter how devastated, which had a high level of education, organization, and discipline, produced an "economic miracle". In fact, these were miracles only for people whose attention is focused on the end product, the "tip of the iceberg" in the form of factories and capital and consumer goods. The tip had been damaged but the basis, which is education, organization and discipline, was still there.

Here, then, lies the central problem of development. If the causes of poverty are deficiencies in these three respects, then the alleviation of poverty depends on the removal of these deficiencies. Here is the reason why one cannot "jump" in development, because education does not jump; education is a gradual process. Organization does not jump; it must evolve to fit changing

circumstances; and the same goes for discipline. All three cannot be ordered or simply planned; they must evolve step by step, and the foremost task of policy must be to speed this evolution. And all three must become the property of the whole people, not merely of a small minority.

How can the west best help to foster the development and widespread adoption of such technologies? Not, we suggest, by continuing to promote the purchase by poor countries of expensive hardware which requires not only large sums of capital and heavy imports but *special* forms of education; *special* forms of organization and discipline which are not inherent in the societies concerned. I am not advocating a complete reversal or transformation of aid policies and approaches to development. What is needed is to start a shift in emphasis, towards aid for self-help; and to *marshal the scientific and technical knowledge of the west to that end.*

It is true, unhappily, that in many developing countries current policies are not geared to the introduction of intermediate technologies. For instance, large, capital-intensive projects generally get their funds at low rates of interest, which do not reflect the real cost of capital: and it is much easier, administratively, to handle a few big projects rather than many small ones. They also seem more glamorous and photogenic and somehow confer "prestige". But – a very big but – what choice does the west offer them? We have tended to say: "Here are loans and grants: buy our equipment; what's good for us must be good for you".

The first task is surely to make it known that there *are* choices available and to make known what these choices are. The west is a veritable storehouse of scientific and technical information which can be applied, or adapted to the development of simple, low cost tools and equipment and techniques: to the development of intermediate technologies.

Basically, there are three possible ways of arriving at the simple, low cost techniques needed by the peoples of the under-developed areas of the world: the first is to upgrade, to make more productive, traditional ways of doing things. The second is to strip down, simplify and reduce the cost of sophisticated machinery and equipment – retaining the "tool" element but eliminating the expensive labour-saving accretions which are a feature of most western technology. The third is by new invention. The expertise – and much of the information required – to do this kind of work certainly exists in the west; but it needs to be mobilized, systematized and presented in a useful form.

In the U.K. we have started the Intermediate Technology Development Group (I.T.D.G.), a private non-profit organization whose purpose it is to promote the development and introduction of such technologies. Our first step was to compile and publish a directory called "Tools for Progress", listing some of the low cost equipment made in the U.K. The response to this from overseas has been very significant. Within a few months of publication, over 5,000 copies have gone overseas. This has certainly made many people aware for the first time that such low cost equipment *does* exist, that there is something between the sickle and the combine harvester. The Group is now building up a clearing-house of information on simple, low cost

techniques, and along with this, a series of (voluntary) expert panels on subjects of general interest to developing countries: low cost ways of lifting and moving water; low cost building techniques; provision for rural health; education and training. The Group is also associating itself with projects overseas where intermediate technologies are being introduced. A number of affiliated groups have been set up overseas – in India, Ghana, Colombia, Jamaica – with which the I.T.D.G. will work in collaboration.

In the U.S.A., an organization called VITA (Volunteers for International Technical Assistance) has, over the past eight years, set up an impressive technical information service on village and rural technology. It has, on its books, no fewer than 4,500 volunteer experts who undertake to find answers to requests for low cost technologies. VITA and I.T.D.G. work closely together. Japan has an organization, CeCoCo, which specializes in providing detailed information about low cost products, processes and methods of manufacture and in promoting the sale of such appropriate equipment.

The general approach to development problems advocated by I.T.D.G., hotly contested only a few years ago, now commands a wide measure of moral support all over the world. This applies to both donor and recipient countries; to governments and international agencies as well as to voluntary organizations.

But there remains an enormous gap between intention and implementation. It is agreed that there must be rural development and involvement of the whole population; it is agreed that there must be innumerable small activities all over the place instead of just a few gigantic projects in a few big cities; it is agreed that the technology must fit the actual conditions of the developing country that imports it: all this is easily granted, but how is it to be done? If most of the aid is government-to-government, how can it break down into thousands upon thousands of small activities involving millions of people? Governmental bureaucracies, no matter how efficient, can never handle more than a modest number of projects, and if the bureaucracies are enlarged to handle more they almost inevitably become unworkable. The same applies to the great international agencies, which also have to work through the governments of the developing countries.

In short, while the intentions of aid have changed and are changing, the administrative structures and methods still have to be adapted, if the existing gap between intention and implementation is to be closed. It is here that the *voluntary agencies* come in. They already have very large numbers of devoted men and women "in the field", several hundreds of thousands of them. These people are sharing the burdens of poverty with the local population; they do not claim the privileges of government emissaries or officials; they come, and they are prepared to stay for many years, unlike short-term volunteers or visiting experts. Equally important: the host countries can get rid of them, if they so wish, without causing diplomatic incidents.

The task of the future, as we see it, is two-fold: first, to develop new methods of co-operation between governmental and non-governmental, voluntary agencies; and, second, by means of such co-operation or by other means, greatly to increase the effectiveness of the voluntary effort.

The voluntary agencies have frequently been criticized for being unbusinesslike and ineffective, more often than not by themselves. There have been insistent demands for "stream-lining" and "co-ordination"; but these things are easier said than done, and there is a real danger that "co-ordination" may mean nothing but the setting up of more committees to cause delays, strangle initiative, and kill enthusiasm. It is not surprising that the demand for "co-ordination" arouses the antagonism of field workers, who know more about the difficulties and frustrations of development work than the co-ordinators back home and realize how much depends on their own spontaneous devotion and initiative. All the same, the voluntary organizations are by no means deficient in the power of self-criticism, and they are looking for ways and means of improving the effectiveness of their efforts. If "co-ordination" is not the right answer, what is?

Instead of the idea of *co-ordination* we would propose the idea of *infra-structure*. In many developing countries there are literally hundreds of groups of voluntary workers working in relative isolation, each on its own small project, almost like subsistence farmers. The resources at the disposal of each of them are normally extremely limited. "It's the poor that 'elps the poor" – true enough; but the limitation of resources does not apply merely to money: it also applies to know-how and everything else. Like subsistence farmers, the voluntary field workers are generally too much on their own, lacking an effective *infra-structure* of facilities. Here is a group struggling with a technical problem which others have solved long ago; owing to an almost total lack of communications, they are in complete ignorance of the solutions found elsewhere. The same mistakes are made over and over again; the same inventions have to be made over and over again; there is no cumulative process leading from strength to strength but, instead, a thousand-fold starting again from zero. The voluntary workers, although coming from rich societies with virtually unlimited scientific resources, normally are completely isolated from these resources; they have no means of mobilizing them; difficulties which at home would be resolved in a day demand enormous personal efforts for their resolution, causing delays of weeks or months. In short, there is a lack of *infra-structure*, and just as subsistence farmers cannot help themselves effectively, no matter how hard they work, until someone creates for them an infra-structure of communications, transport, education and research, so the development work carried on by voluntary organizations needs to be given an infra-structure of facilities of an analagous kind.

Let us see what this would mean – at least in rough outline. There should be a "focal point", politically and religiously neutral, to fulfil at least four functions on a world-wide scale:—

First, the function of communications – to enable each field worker or group of field workers to know what other work is going on in the geographical or "functional" territory in which they are working, so as to facilitate the direct exchange of information.

Second, the function of information brokerage – to assemble on a systematic basis and to disseminate relevant information on appropriate technologies for developing countries, particularly on low-cost methods relating to building, water and power, crop storage, processing, small-scale manufacturing, health services, and so forth. Here, the essence of the matter is not to try and

hold all the information in one centre but to hold "information on information" or "know-how on know-how".

Third, the function of "feed-back", that is to say, the transmission of research problems from the field workers in developing countries to research establishments (including university departments, specialized institutions, business firms, etc.) in the advanced countries, wherever the facilities exist for these problems to be effectively dealt with.

Fourth, the function of creating or co-ordinating "sub-structures", that is to say, "action groups" in the developing countries themselves. Such "action groups" – some of which, as mentioned above, have already been brought into existence by I.T.D.G. – will be autonomous, voluntary groups, involving the administrative, the business, and the intellectual institutions of the developing country in question. They would aim to be in touch with all field workers operating in the country, to facilitate communications and the exchange of information. They would also be able to act as "verification centres" to test and prove new methods, materials, and equipment which, having been provided by advanced countries, appear suitable for application but may need modification to fit specific local conditions.

There are not many places in the world, it seems to us, which would be more suitable than London for the "focal point" of such an *infra-structure*. Beginnings in this direction have been made, and it is apparent that a great deal of useful "sub-structure" already exists in and among some of the larger voluntary organizations around the world. It is not a matter of starting entirely from scratch, but of injecting a new organizational idea into the vast amount of work that is going on, so that nothing is lost and everything has the chance of becoming more fruitful.

Although the creation of such an *infra-structure for development aid by voluntary agencies* requires some financial support, it should not be thought of as a vastly expensive operation. Let it start small, and let it grow only as and when its value becomes apparent. Let it be voluntary, non-governmental effort, to avoid any political bias or suspicion.

At the same time, the utilization of public funds by voluntary organizations should not be excluded. In fact, we believe that the new thinking in development aid, the kind of decentralized effort along "intermediate technology" lines, now recognized as essential for fruitful development work in the years to come, requires a new method of financial co-operation between governments and voluntary agencies. That the employment of public funds by non-governmental bodies requires strict "accountability" is so obvious that it hardly needs mentioning. Suitable accountability rules can be worked out on the basis of plentiful experience already available inside many large-scale organizations.

If one thing is certain, it is this: that "development" is a task of infinitely greater difficulty than was commonly assumed ten or fifteen years ago. Governments have an essential part to play; but, assuredly, they cannot do it alone. The creative force of voluntary personal effort has to be utilized to the fullest extent. A willingness to help exists almost everywhere – in the business world, in academic institutions, and among professional men and women of all kinds, not to mention innumerable young people. It should not be beyond the wit of man to mobilize these latent resources.

Some Problems of Administrative Training: The Northern Nigerian Experience*

By JOHN D. CHICK

Dr. Chick is Lecturer in Political Science, Universities of Manchester and East Africa.

The term "administrative training" covers such a wide variety of activities, from courses for filing clerks to simulation exercises for senior diplomats, that it is easy to overlook the common element which underlies the diversity. But all training, formal or informal, at whatever level it is conducted, seeks to equip the trainee with information necessary for his successful absorption into the apparatus of power. Some of this information will be of a narrowly technical kind involving the acquisition of specific skills; some will relate to the general *mores* of the service, ranging in importance from accepted views on the nature of bureaucratic responsibility at one extreme, down to the minutiae of dress requirements and port-passing at the other. Training manuals sometimes give the impression that much of this information is of universal application, but it is now generally agreed that a high proportion relies for its validity upon the cultural setting within which it is transmitted. The question of whether or not modernization will eventually produce a world culture defining administrative values of an absolute kind is a matter for debate, but it is clear that no such homogeneity exists at present. Since there must be a high degree of congruence between bureaucratic practice and the social framework, it follows that induction programmes must be closely attuned to environmental realities.

The greatest problem confronting training in Africa is that it has become institutionalized at a time when the parameters of governmental action have been undergoing radical modification. In 1965 there were more than forty schools on the continent specializing in the training of administrative personnel,[1] and the number has presumably risen still higher since then. All of these establishments must work out a rationale for their activities in conditions of rapid and fundamental change. Even if they are preparing people for posts which have remained outwardly unaltered for long periods, subtle differences result from the fact that the occupants are now African whereas their pre-

*The views expressed in this article were originally presented as a contribution to the discussion on "Problems of Curriculum Development in Public Administration in Africa" at the University of East Africa's Social Science Conference held in January 1968 at Dar-es-Salaam.

[1]Brian G. Weinstein, *African Schools of Public Administration: A Report to the Agency for International Development*. Boston: African Studies Center, Boston University, 1965, p. ii.

decessors were not. The simplest of duties takes on a new significance when performed for the first time by local citizens. In many cases a more dramatic shift is required of the civil servant than the adjustment necessitated by localization of recruitment. Independent governments redefine his functions and come to expect from him different standards of performance. Very often the principles upon which he has to operate are not made explicit, and he has to grope his way towards a role which is not clearly perceived. The school which trains him must assist in this task, guided by little but inappropriate British or French traditions which are themselves undergoing a crisis of identity as they assimilate techniques adopted from yet another source – the American.

Experimentation involved in this search for bearings amidst the cross-currents of African modernization provides a fascinating study for the student of administrative institutions. Several schools have made substantial and well documented contributions within the context of their respective countries, but few have attracted so much attention as has the Institute of Administration at Zaria in Northern Nigeria,[2] which, as a pioneer in a number of fields of training, has served as a model for more recently established schools. Some, such as that in Malawi, have consciously drawn upon its experience in outlining their own programmes, and elsewhere its influence has been significant although less direct. It has "long occupied a commanding position" in Africa,[3] and there is no shortage of testimony to its impact upon the continent's public services. One commentator goes so far as to assert that, at a time when the process of power transfer was subjecting bureaucratic structures to severe strain, it "might almost be said not only to have saved the administration of Northern Nigeria but to have saved those of East Africa by its example."[4]

This rather extravagent conclusion is a measure of the prestige which the school has been accorded by observers, but it must be treated with extreme caution. Michael Rougevin-Baville has remarked that, while the role of the innovator in training methods is exhilarating, it is almost invariably uncomfortable as well.[5] The latter point is often overlooked. Although the Institute has had its share of discomforts, discussions of its development have usually concentrated upon the positive accomplishments, ignoring the frustrations with which these were inevitably associated. This is perfectly understandable. Those connected with its growth have little incentive for parading their misgivings before potential sponsors, hostile critics or naive admirers, and there often seems to be little point in dwelling upon minor shortcomings when the overall picture is one of gratifying success. In retrospect the obstacles surmounted, particularly when they have involved disagreement or

[2]A decree of 27th May, 1967, provided for the breaking up of the Northern Region into six new states within the Nigerian Federation. Officially, therefore, Northern Nigeria has ceased to exist. The term is used here without qualification because it was current during the years under review.

[3]R. E. Wraith, "Institutional Training in Africa (i) The Institutes", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. IV, No. 1, January 1965, p. 34.

[4]Richard Symonds, *The British and their Successors*, London: Faber and Faber, 1966, p. 262.

[5]Michael Rougevin-Baville, "The Organization and Content of Training for Public Administration in Africa", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. II, No. 3, July 1963, p. 136.

misunderstanding, are shrugged aside, and the perplexities which they once represented are forgotten. A myth of immaculate conception arises which may appear innocent enough, but which reduces the utility of the Institute's achievements as a basis for advances elsewhere. Those who wish to build upon its experience are likely to find more of value in a balanced assessment of its strengths and weaknesses than in a mere catalogue of triumphs.

The present paper is an attempt to place the successes in a perspective which has hitherto been lacking by reviewing some of the problems which proved particularly intractable during the years from 1962 to 1966.[6] Many of the topics touched upon are sufficiently important to merit extensive treatment, but it is not the intention to embark upon a detailed exposition of individual difficulties, still less to offer solutions. It is the writer's belief that organizational deficiencies, while not of a disabling nature, reduced the Institute's operational effectiveness and limited its capacity for fruitful innovation. The impressionistic survey of stresses to which the school was subject serves, therefore, not as a background to the analysis of any specific dilemma, but as a means of evaluating the Institute's ability to meet the crises which were bound to occur in a country seeking to come to terms with independence.

Lest such an approach appear unduly negative, it should be stated that it implies no desire to denigrate an undertaking which has so much to its credit, nor to quarrel with authorities whose views are more sanguine than those expressed below. It is hoped to supplement Mr. Richardson's valedictory contribution, for example, rather than to contradict it.[7] Finally it must be emphasized that the following comments refer to a clearly delimited period in the school's history. Since 1966 there have been changes in the structure of the training programmes and in the political and administrative framework of the society which they serve. A new situation has arisen which has altered the Institute beyond recognition, without necessarily invalidating the lessons of the past.

The Organization of the Institute

The Institute's organizational basis was essentially one of extreme pluralism, a characteristic which may be attributed to its historical origins. Founded in 1948 as a clerical training school, it was attached to the Ministry for Local Government six years later, eventually becoming a semi-autonomous institution within Ahmadu Bello University in 1962. Its primary task was always that of fostering the skills of public employees, a duty which became particularly urgent after the policy of Northernization, introduced in 1954, ended the recruitment of Southerners into government service. The conservatism of political leaders meant that expatriate officers were retained in key posts long after they had ceased to be acceptable in other parts of Africa and the

[6]During this period the writer was himself resident in Zaria and attached to the Institute in a teaching capacity.

[7]S. S. Richardson, "The Institute of Administration Zaria 1961–1967 – An Assessment of Progress", *Journal of Administration Overseas*, Vol. VII, No. 1, January, 1968, p. 311. Mr. Richardson's article contains much detailed information concerning the Institute's development which, for the sake of brevity, is not repeated here.

pace of Africanization was therefore rather more leisurely than it was elsewhere, but in other respects Northern Nigeria's difficulties were especially acute. Secondary education was rudimentary (colleges did not begin to present candidates for the Higher School Certificate until 1960), and the Native Authority system, with its emphasis upon decentralization, made even greater demands upon those who manned it than did local government structures patterned more directly upon European models. Everywhere the picture was one of inadequately trained staff battling with administrative problems which threatened to engulf them.

As the sole centre for training in the Region, the Institute had little opportunity to specialize or to work out carefully co-ordinated policies for overall development. Indeed it saw no reason to do so. Courses were established on an *ad hoc* basis in response to a plea for the supply of personnel to fill posts of a specific kind. So clearly beneficial was the instruction given, and so overwhelming the demand for training from all quarters, that prolonged introspection seemed unnecessary. A rough order of priorities was required, but this was provided by the Government itself. Details of courses might be worked out by those who taught them, but broader questions of the way in which different subjects related to one another, or to the needs of society as a whole, were thought to lie outside the Institute's terms of reference.[8] Zaria's reputation was built upon the brilliance of the improvization with which it plugged gaps in the bureaucracy when these were brought to its attention.

The failure to impose some unity of purpose upon the school's multifarious interests, of little consequence at first, became more obviously a disadvantage with the passage of time. As governmental needs grew more sophisticated and educational standards rose, more ambitious experimentation began. Prospective district officers might still need to learn how to use a telephone, organize an agricultural show or ride a camel,[9] but an increase in the academic content of their studies was felt to be appropriate. This led to a process of upgrading, the culmination of which was the introduction of a two year university diploma, and later a three year degree, for those who aspired to the highest ranks of the administration. Simultaneously some lower level courses were shed, becoming the direct responsibility of individual ministries.

In spite of the withdrawal from certain types of vocational training, however, the Institute's activities remained bewildering in their variety. During the period under review administrative and executive officers of the Regional Government, local authority employees, native court judges, lawyers, personnel connected with the co-operative movement, provincial education officers, management trainees for the private sector and accountants were all catered for under the same roof. Moreover, the continuing diversity of instruction was paralleled by a new complexity in the mechanism of control.

[8]M. J. Bennion, "The Institute of Administration, Zaria, – 1", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. II, No. 1, January, 1963. For a description of the Institute at the time when Bennion was its Director see Smith Hempstone, *The New Africa*, London: Faber and Faber, 1961, pp. 612–614.

[9]A. H. M. Kirk-Greene and J. H. Smith, "Administrative Techniques: A Suggestion for Administrative Service Training Curricula", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. 1, No. 3, July 1962

Prior to its incorporation within Ahmadu Bello University the Institute had had a single master (the Ministry for Local Government) upon which lay the onus of formulating policy guidelines. It is doubtful whether the Ministry was particularly well equipped for this task, but at least its responsibility was unambiguous. From 1962 onwards the picture became far more confused. Four main types of programme operated concurrently, each involving a different regulatory formula. Apart from those with academic standards underwritten by the University, there were courses which used the Institute's physical facilities, but which were organized and staffed entirely by Government, others which were run by the school on behalf of, and in various degrees of collaboration with, departments of state, and a few which were privately financed and for which the Institute was responsible to the donors alone.

A further dimension was added to this complexity by the involvement of external bodies which provided general assistance and therefore had some claim to a say in the character of the Institute's development. In the cases of the Ford Foundation, which built a largely self-contained conference unit, and of the University of Manchester, which gave limited help with the recruitment of staff and of external examiners, the influence was marginal. However, very real difficulties sprang from the status of Faculty members supplied by the University of Pittsburgh under a contract originating from U.S.A.I.D. Although fully integrated into the teaching schedules this group was administratively autonomous, being answerable primarily to the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at its home University, whose views on training strategies did not always coincide with those prevalent in Nigeria.

The only person who held all these threads in his own hands was the Director, assisted by an Advisory Board and, later, by an Advisory Committee on Business Studies, neither of which met very frequently. The task of reconciling so many disparate interests was a demanding one. Given the elaborate network of sympathies within which they were entrenched, it would have been virtually impossible to subordinate them to a theoretically consistent vision of the school's future role, and, in practice, the attempt was not made. Instead the Institute was guided with great skill through a maze of competing demands by a Director whose main concerns were to maximize financial resources, minimize political embarrassment and maintain peace among his colleagues. In general the policy worked well, although the delicate balance of forces upon which it relied was always susceptible to sudden collapse when confronted by decisions which exposed the slender basis of agreement among the various parties involved.

Problems calling for such traumatic decisions were too numerous to permit of any brief summary, but most fell into one of two categories, being connected either with external relationships or with the question of teaching content and method. The categories were by no means mutually exclusive. Programmes were shaped by external pressures which were, in turn, influenced by the nature of the programmes offered. The evolution of undergraduate training in administration, in as far as both curriculum development and the changing relationship with the bureaucracy were concerned, illus-

trates the manner in which internal and external preoccupations meshed in shaping the character of the school's growth.

Curriculum Development

The diploma course introduced at Zaria in 1962 was intended to equip students for posts in the administrative class of the public service. Initially it was preferred to a full degree because the original intake drew heavily upon candidates with several years of in-service experience but, in many cases, without the formal school-leaving qualifications customarily required for university entrance.[10] In addition, it was thought that it would be easier to persuade Government, troubled as it was by immediate staffing shortages, to release employees for two years rather than for three. Nevertheless, it was tacitly assumed that, once the principle of undergraduate training had been established, a third year would be added, students who performed satisfactorily in their examinations being allowed to proceed to the higher qualification. This scheme was quickly approved by both the University and the Government so that the diploma was very seldom awarded.[11]

In the early months, course design was greatly influenced by government officers who had been associated with earlier programmes at the Institute. The first head of the Department of Administration, for example, had served in the Region for a number of years and had been responsible for the successful Administrative Service Training Courses, which represented the most advanced form of instruction available prior to the opening of the University. The contribution of such experienced personnel tended to diminish as the number of lecturers recruited from outside Africa rose, but the close links with the Administration never entirely disappeared. Staff often combined teaching with consultancy work for Government, and the more directly governmental interests of the Institute (with which they were not all personally connected, but of which they could hardly avoid being aware) brought them into continuous contact with representatives of the ministries. Particularly valuable in this respect were the annual seminars held for Assistant Divisional Officers, which faculty members attended as observers. Proceedings were confidential and the uninhibited discussions which took place produced many fascinating insights into the difficulties of the administrator in the field. There can be little doubt that such refreshing confrontations with practitioners, together with the restraining presence of men who knew the government apparatus from the inside, did something to forestall the " . . . academic blast-off into outer space . . "[12] which the old hands saw as a danger inherent in the influx of teachers unfamiliar with local conditions.

[10]Those who did not have the normal qualifications were expected to attend a short preliminary course. As far as academic performance was concerned the first intake compared very favourably with its successors, which were typically comprised of younger students with rather higher levels of secondary education.

[11]The diploma was retained as a "back-door" method of entry for applicants from parts of the country where educational facilities were especially poorly developed, and because it afforded an opportunity to get rid of students whose work had been adequate without indicating that they would benefit from a third year. It never enjoyed an existence independent of the degree of which it formed a part, however, and no distinction will be made between the two in what follows.

[12]S. S. Richardson, "The Institute of Adminstration, Zaria – III", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1964, p. 43.

It was generally accepted that everything taught should be related as closely as possible to the country's administrative needs, but at that point agreement ended. Occasionally the suggestion was made that the whole concept of a degree programme was misconceived. According to this view, the need to produce an internationally recognized qualification resulted in excessive rigidity, effectively preventing the adaptation of the curriculum to the peculiar needs of a developing society. It was not denied that a baccalaureate would ultimately become desirable, but it was felt that its introduction had been premature and had resulted in the inclusion of subjects which were academically respectable but of little relevance to the needs of students: while they required remedial English, they were taught mediaeval political theory; while they required elementary statistics, they were taught social anthropology. The complaint was not only that such subjects wasted time which might have been used more fruitfully, but that they gave those taking them an exaggerated sense of their own sophistication. Faced with overwhelming problems of underdevelopment, it was argued, humility was the administrator's greatest asset, and yet the training seemed calculated to foster intellectual arrogance.

At one stage or another all of those engaged in the programme probably had some measure of sympathy for this extreme opinion, but most accepted the fact that the Institute was too deeply committed to the degree, and to the maintenance of its international status, for any radical re-thinking of policy to take place. The Economics lecturer who wished to introduce weekly games of "Monopoly" in order to acquaint his students with the principles of property speculation was doomed to disappointment. He finally succeeded in incorporating some of his more enterprising ideas into an "Administrative Workshop", but this was run on a voluntary basis and did not entail any credits for those who attended.

Among faculty members who reconciled themselves to the degree, the main issue was the classic one of the balance to be struck between general and vocational elements in the curriculum. The consensus was that, ideally, an administrator should have a fairly broad exposure to the social sciences as an undergraduate, and that courses with a greater professional content should be added at the postgraduate level. In a situation in which even a first degree was often regarded as an unwarranted luxury, however, it was obviously impracticable to plan for anything beyond that stage in the immediate future. A few outstanding students might receive some advanced training overseas, but the majority would have to rely entirely upon the instruction provided during their three years at Zaria. An exercise in telescoping therefore took place which revealed a sharp division in attitudes between different groups on the teaching staff.

One bloc placed heavy emphasis upon the incongruity of vocational training in undergradute work, and maintained that it should be eliminated at the earliest opportunity. To this end it was hoped to promote the establishment of a postgraduate dilpoma as soon as a sufficient number of qualified applicants became available, while strengthening the social sciences within the existing programme in preparation for the time when undergraduate courses relating to administrative skills would entirely disappear. The other bloc believed

that the hybrid degree would remain necessary for a number of years, considered that the pressure for a more advanced diploma was unduly precipitous, and resisted the encroachment of the social sciences upon what was felt to be the legitimate preserve of more practical disciplines. Unfortunately the cleavage on this issue tended to follow national lines. Underlying the position of the first group was the traditional British prejudice against American efforts to systematize techniques handled intuitively in the past, while the second group was fortified by a healthy American contempt for British amateurism. Each side regarded the other as being hopelessly out of touch with the requirements of West Africa.

The fact that the American element was given a separate administrative identity under the terms of the U.S.A.I.D. agreement, tended to harden the division and make its national character more marked. There were mitigating factors however. As a semi-professional institution, the Graduate School at Pittsburgh was fully committed to the vocational studies which constituted its main area of expertise, but many of the personnel sent to Zaria under its auspices were rather less dogmatic in their outlook. To some extent this was due to their closer contact with local realities, but it owed much to the fact that they did not all come from Pittsburgh itself, but were recruited from a variety of academic backgrounds for the term of the contract. A number were "pure" social scientists with no particular interest in professional programmes and those whose orientation was towards administrative training soon became aware of the limitations imposed upon courses by the lack of Nigerian materials and of staff with relevant experience. As a result they tended to adopt a more pragmatic approach than did the sponsoring University, and this element of flexibilty helped to prevent open confrontations even if it fell far short of eliminating all sources of friction.

On the social level, relationships between individuals remained good, but professionally they deteriorated to an alarming degree. This was especially so in 1966 when a specialist programme in social science was introduced to supplement that in administration – a move which seemed to herald a partial victory for the non-vocationalists. Weinstein remarked upon the tension which existed, without naming the school in question,[13] and it is interesting to note that the Director of the Institute, in his review of Weinstein's report, expressed his reservations about American aid for administrative training, which he characterized as:

> "... ruggedly insular in its approach, urgent in its application and consequently highly rationalized and often a canned version of some programme successful in the American environment. Very few American experts are prepared to stay for more than two years and the resultant necessity to register an achievement in such a short time tends to produce insensitivity towards the strength of local resistance to change ..."[14]

Later he adopted a far less critical stance,[15] but this judgment accurately reflects the mood prevailing at the time when it was written.

---

[13] Weinstein, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[14] S. S. Richardson in *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. V, No. 3, July 1966, p. 213.

[15] S. S. Richardson, "The Institute of Administration Zaria 1961–1967 – An Assessment of Progress", *op. cit.*, *passim*.

Apparently similar stresses have arisen elsewhere,[16] and the principles at stake were, of course, crucial ones which demanded thorough discussion. The fact that debate degenerated into something approaching open warfare in this instance was due in part to the personalities involved, but more germanely to the pluralism of the school's organization. When pressures towards moderation and compromise broke down, there was no institutional means available for re-establishing the dialogue.

The picture was further complicated by the way in which the internal politics of the Institute found echoes within the wider community of the University as a whole. There had always been some hostility towards the school, largely due to its ability to attract funds and students in abundance (while other departments often struggled with inadequate supplies of both) and to the suspicion that its diploma entry and its vocational courses were debasing the University's academic currency. Proposals to expand the teaching of the social sciences were welcomed in some quarters as an indication of a move towards respectability, and condemned in others which suspected that the step presaged a further increase in the Institute's power and prestige.[17]

The curriculum evolved out of a struggle between factions in a series of arguments settled, not on their merits, but in accordance with relative strength and tactical skill. The *ex post facto* rationalizations put forward did more to conceal than to illumine the forces which had shaped the terms of the truce pertaining at any one time.

Relationships with the Public Service

If there seemed to be little evidence of rational co-ordination in the content of the programme, there was even less in its changing relationship with the manpower needs of the country. During the life of the Administrative Service Training Course there had been no problem; a certain number of officers were designated by the Government for further training, released from their posts for a few months, and then re-absorbed. Once the University acquired an interest in the Institute, however, the situation changed dramatically. The tradition of academic autonomy demanded that official control should be relaxed in at least two ways: the selection of students ceased to be a governmental prerogative, and the majority were no longer committed to following a career in the public service upon graduation.[18]

As far as selection was concerned, the fact that the Institute chose to work within the limitations of the Government's ethnic policy, avoided major conflicts which might otherwise have arisen. In deference to the doctrine of Northernization it was made quite clear that most places would be awarded to Northerners, although a few were reserved for representatives of each of the Regions in the South so that the programme would not become entirely exclusive. There was also a certain amount of discrimination between Northerners themselves, applications from the Islamic areas of the Far North

[16] Weinstein, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[17] Physically the Institute is several miles away from the main campus of Ahmadu Bello University, and this fact adds to the feeling of distinctiveness which exists.

[18] The few exceptions were people who, as civil servants at the time of their selection, obtained leave of absence rather than resign from their posts.

generally being given preference over those from the riverain provinces where the penetration of Christianity had resulted in higher levels of schooling and educational attainment. Nevertheless, recruitment was strictly on merit within the different groups, and the favour shown towards Hausa-Fulani Muslims did not seriously distort the intake: so low was the output of secondary school leavers from their ranks that the admission of every applicant with the minimum qualifications filled only a handful of places. Students from the Lower North continued to achieve representation out of all proportion to their numbers in the community. Occasionally there were complaints that not enough was being done to promote the training of men from the far North, and suggestions that entry requirements were unreasonably high in view of their disadvantageous position, but these pressures were easily resisted.[19]

During the period from 1962 to 1966 resentment arose not so much from the issue of whom the Institute trained, as from the fact that it trained anybody at all. As in many other countries, the years immediately preceding and following independence saw the promotion of large numbers of local citizens into positions of administrative importance. Sometimes such people had little formal training, but compensated for this by extensive practical experience; sometimes they had neither training nor experience, and were chosen simply because there were no alternatives available. Since many appointees were relatively young, they blocked channels of promotion for their better equipped successors, and this naturally gave rise to a sense of frustration. Those holding high-level posts were very conscious of the threat from below. Even if, as was usually the case, they enjoyed security of tenure, they found it uncomfortable to perform their duties under the critical gaze of subordinates who adopted an attitude of disdainful superiority which may, or may not, have been justified. Moreover the contrast between senior and junior officers was not limited to differences in technical competence: very often the new entrants were more radical politically, and more inclined to question the stable procedures which their seniors found so reassuring.

Discontent amongst recruits to the administrative class had certainly not become dangerous by 1966. There were so few of them, and vacancies were so numerous, that initial promotion was still breathtakingly rapid. A few months after obtaining his degree a graduate might find himself acting as Divisional Officer in a major emirate, running a ministry in the absence of those above him in the hierarchy, or holding an important position in an embassy overseas. The barriers to progress which lend an edge to latent unrest lay several years in the future. On the other hand there were already indications that the influx of degree holders was being viewed with considerable alarm in some quarters. On one occasion an official of the Premier's Office, who visited Zaria ostensibly to speak about opportunities in the public service, warned his audience that the Institute was regarded as a centre of

[19]No institution so closely associated with élite recruitment could avoid all involvement in the intense tribal competition which characterized post-independence Nigeria. The Institute, in spite of its attempt to play a passive role in the shaping of the ethnic policy, was later plunged into the centre of communal tensions. The riots which swept across the country in May 1966 followed a demonstration by its students against General Ironsi's unification decree, which they interpreted as a move to reverse the Northernization policy to which they owed their privileged access to the public service.

potential subversion whose graduates would be carefully watched to ensure that they represented no danger to public security.

This type of reaction was limited to a minority, but it could have practical implications. While the Government had relinquished its control over the selection of candidates, it still exercised an indirect veto through its power to award scholarships. In some parts of West Africa the extended family system will finance a person's academic pursuits on the understanding that he will repay the debt at a later date, but this very seldom happens in Northern Nigeria where average incomes are much lower than on the coast. A man who fails to obtain a government grant has little hope of acquiring a university education.[20]

The Institute had embarked upon its degree and diploma courses with the intention of maintaining a minimum intake of forty students each year, and it was on the assumption that numbers would run at this level that U.S.A.I.D. had invested large sums of money in the programme. Apart from Southerners, who might be financed privately or by their own Regional Governments, at least thirty-five entrants required scholarships annually.

The Government agreed to this in principle, but in 1963 the Scholarship Board cut the number of awards made, and the entry from all sources fell to below thirty. Strong protests led to the rectification of the situation in the following year, but in 1965 the same thing happened again. On that occasion observers from the Institute were told by the Minister of Education that the Region would in future need only six graduate administrators a year. He suggested that the school should begin to run down its facilities, and magnanimously offered twenty awards for the next session so that the phase-out could be spread over two years. The Institute's representatives complained that the new policy contradicted everything which the Government had said previously, did not accord with the recommendations of published manpower surveys, and flew in the face of the acute staff shortages of which everybody was aware. In response to this civil servants present interjected, with considerable feeling, that the Institute's graduates were worse than useless, and that they would rather remain understaffed than accept them.[21] A series of appeals in individual cases, combined with hints that U.S.A.I.D. might be forced to reconsider its commitment to the Institute in the light of these unexpected developments, subsequently produced important concessions, but the incident illustrates the sort of difficulty which beset attempts to implement a coherent plan.

In as far as this particular problem revealed genuine hostility, it was atypical; most confusions were simply the result of bureaucratic muddle and

[20]This being the case, the requirement that the University should have complete discretion on admissions policy, leaving the Government with absolute control over the public moneys disbursed as scholarship awards, could not be rigidly adhered to in practice. An informal understanding existed to the effect that the Scholarship Board, while insisting upon its right to consider each candidate individually, should defer to the University's assessment of suitability for undergraduate work as long as it was satisfied that everything possible was being done to rectify the educational imbalance between various parts of the North. Except in the cases mentioned below, the arrangement worked fairly well.

[21]In fact the 1962 intake had only just graduated at that stage, so that the judgment cannot have been based on personal experience.

shortsightedness. For example, a report prepared for the Ford Foundation in 1961 recommended the establishment of a Staff Development Centre in Kaduna. Envisaging that the Institute would become almost exclusively concerned with high level academic instruction after its incorporation into Ahmadu Bello University, the report pointed out that this would leave a demand for vocational training unmet unless steps were taken to provide alternative facilities. But, by the time the Centre was opened in 1965, circumstances had changed. Events had proved that the Institute was not going to forfeit its interest in all vocational courses, and some of those which it did shed were taken over by individual ministries intent upon building empires of their own. At least one observer doubted whether the Kaduna Centre, well endowed as it was with buildings and staff, would content itself for long with providing the kind of nuts-and-bolts training in which nobody else was interested – almost inevitably it would begin to develop academic pretensions similar to those of the Institute.[22] Both schools constantly reiterated their determination to avoid duplication of effort and commented upon their complementarity,[23] but the boundary between their activities was hazy.

A similar indecisiveness was apparent over the question of the provision of management trainees for the private sector. The dilemma here had been pinpointed before it arose. Products of the Administrative Service Training Courses had no alternative but to work for Government, while competing attractions were available to their successors. The danger was that the administrative service would "become a repository for third-rate minds."[24]

Following the scholarship fiasco of 1963, the Institute began to explore the possibility of forging links with business which would provide a partial safeguard against future governmental unpredictability. Gradually contacts were made, funds solicited and greater efforts made to interest students in careers in private enterprise. Finally, a business school was founded and business studies became a recognized option in the degree syllabus. The consequence was predictable. Firms were prepared to offer starting salaries of up to £1,200 per annum, further training in Britain, and congenial conditions of service; Government paid £800 per annum and treated recruits with monumental indifference. Students saw quite enough of both potential employers during their undergraduate days to draw their own conclusions. Because the capacity of the private sector to absorb graduates remained limited, the majority continued to drift into the public service with cheerful resignation. But the prestige of non-Governmental employment was rising rapidly, and the changing emphasis of the Institute's teaching gave the trend an added impetus.

Conclusion

No academic institution is entirely insulated from pressures similar to those outlined above. Nor should it be. A symbiotic relationship with the

[22] R. E. Wraith, "Institutional Training in Africa (i) The Institutes", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. IV, No. 1, January 1965, p. 35.

[23] J. H. Smith, "The Staff Development Centre, Kaduna", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. V, No. 1, January 1966.

[24] A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, "Bureaucratic Cadres in a Traditional Milieu" in James S. Coleman, ed., *Education and Political Development*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 402.

host society is always desirable, and particularly so in the case of an establishment concerned with educating men of whom the majority are destined to play a leading part in the public life of their nation.

It could be argued that the responsiveness to environmental changes which characterized the Institute's growth was a source of strength, ensuring an understanding of the complexities of the world in which the school's graduates would eventually have to work, even if it did not make for organizational neatness. Similarly, a certain amount of eclecticism in course development could reasonably be defended. The teaching of administrative skills is not an exact science; a variety of approaches have been devised, but none has proved its superiority so conclusively as to warrant its adoption to the exclusion of all others. It might be supposed that a training programme evolved from the free interplay of different traditions would be a sound one, the most fruitful techniques emerging from a process analagous to that of natural selection.

There is an element of truth in this reasoning. Goals set in accordance with abstract principles may prove totally irrelevant to the administrative needs of society, and a training method accepted *in toto* may gradually assume the status of an ideology valued as an end in itself. It is fatally easy for those teaching future administrators to become divorced from reality by doctrinal considerations. If, as expatriates, they seek compensation for their lack of local knowledge in the consoling belief that some set of academically satisfying generalizations will provide the solution to any problem, regardless of its cultural setting, the danger is particularly acute.

On the other hand, while pragmaticism is a healthy safeguard against excessive rigidity, the experience of Zaria indicates that it may involve disadvantages of its own. One authority has expressed the opinion that:

> "The work of an institute of administration can hardly stop . . . at the development of skills and instruction in procedures. It needs a theoretical basis for itself . . . those who enter . . . should leave with a sense that a course has been set and that they understand where they fit into a larger pattern."[25]

In slightly different terms, the training offered needs to be "purposeful".[26] This does not mean that it should be grounded in a quasi-mystical administrative philosophy, but it does imply that all those involved should have a clear understanding of the ends being pursued and of the means currently considered to be most appropriate for their attainment. The Institute's chief disadvantage was that it failed to provide a framework of this kind which would have enabled it to achieve operational unity. In practice the analogy with natural selection broke down. In the absence of any explicitly formulated policy of development, the diversity of resources available produced combinations which were less stimulating than confusing; the end product was politically intelligible, but lacked academic direction.

It is difficult to pinpoint responsibility for this weakness, or to suggest remedies. The root cause lay outside the control of the Institute in the administrative incoherence and political uncertainty of Northern Nigeria as a whole.

[25]R. E. Wraith, "Institutional Training in Africa (ii) The Training", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. IV, No. 2, April 1965, pp. 80–81.

[26]A. L. Adu, *The Civil Service in African States*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1965, p. 95.

The Institute would certainly have addressed itself to its task more successfully if the Government had defined that task with more precision. As has been seen, however, even the training of officers for the public service, for which there has seemed to be an unshakeable mandate, was threatened by external forces. On problems such as the correct emphasis to be given to business studies, or the most desirable relationship to be established with the Staff Development Centre at Kaduna, no guidance was forthcoming. Decisions were taken, and priorities ordered, on *laissez-faire* principles which made long-term planning impracticable. Since neither the Institute's history of improvisation, nor its organizational basis, equipped it to break out of the vicious circle, it was condemned to a groping opportunism which often unsettled staff and students alike. Many people derived considerable benefit from the education which it dispensed, but the most able were uneasily aware that fundamental questions concerning the scope and purpose of their training remained unanswered.

Individual confusions might have been overcome by a frank re-examination of basic assumptions. In spite of all the argument which took place, there was a marked reluctance to indulge in rigorous self-criticism. For the benefit of the world at large doubts were translated into a posture of exaggerated self-assurance, and a virtue made of practices which were no more than the random products of historical accident. Inevitably this defensiveness inhibited the discussion which would have identified obstacles and contributed to their removal. No re-appraisal would have been of much value, however, unless associated with the creation of an institutional framework within which authoritative decisions could be made and enforced unambiguously. It was not desirable to eliminate the interplay of interests, but it was desirable to ensure that they did not work at cross-purposes for extended periods. A variety of structural reforms might have served this purpose. One possibility would have been to strengthen the school's executive centre in order to increase its powers of effective co-ordination. Alternatively, the semi-independent status could have been abandoned in favour of full integration into either the University or the apparatus of government.[27] It is tempting to speculate upon the implications of such changes, but here the primary concern has been to define the problem rather than to explore solutions. The experience of Zaria suggests that a training institution functioning in a situation of flux requires the ability to act resolutely and that, in a sense, possession of this ability may be of more importance than the nature of the resolution or the formula by which it is achieved.

[27]In fact it is not entirely clear whether the mechanism of control, hampered as it so often was by operational paralysis, could have implemented these sweeping rationalizations. There was always a danger that proposals for remedial action would have foundered in the deep waters which they were designed to bridge.

Training for Development Administration in Western Nigeria

By ADEBAYO ADEDEJI

Dr. Adedeji is Director, Institute of Administration, University of Ife, Nigeria.

THE development of administrative training in Nigeria can be said to have gone through two phases: the first between 1954 and 1960, when the country was engaged in preparing for independence; while the second began with the attainment of independence in October, 1960. The purpose and scope of administrative training during these two periods have been entirely different. Before independence, the overriding purpose of training was in order that it might assist in accelerating the assumption of responsibility in senior government posts by young Nigerians. Since the attainment of independence there has been a shift in the purpose and scope of administrative training.

This article examines the purpose, scope and problems of administrative training in Western Nigeria since independence.

Pre-Independence Administrative Training, 1954-1960

In the decade preceding independence, with the creation of a federal civil service besides services for the three regions (Northern, Western and Eastern),[1] severe strains and stresses were imposed on the Administration. All four services were rapidly Nigerianized (particularly in the Eastern and Western Regions), expatriates began to leave in increasing numbers. Recognition in Western Nigeria of the crucial importance of staff training resulted in the issue of a Sessional Paper (No. 3 of 1956). In presenting the Paper to the legislature, Chief O. Awolowo, then the Premier of the Region, stated that "training is the key to the success of our (Government's) whole endeavour to create a civil service indigenous at all levels and worthy of the Region". The government's policy accordingly envisaged an in-service training programme which would assure a local administration capable of meeting the needs on fast-approaching independence.

Western Region had already set up, in 1955, a high level Standing Committee on Training. In 1956 an O. & M. branch was formed in the Ministry of Finance and in-service courses were introduced for administrative and executive officers, while a six months advanced course for administrative officers was also conducted at the University College, Ibadan. In the period 1956–60 some 400 officers were sent overseas for further training.

In 1958, the government of the West also commissioned a Ford Foundation expert, Dr. J. Donald Kingsley, to study the staffing, organizational and

[1]Between 1954 and 1963, Nigeria consisted of three Regions and the federal territory of Lagos. In August, 1963, a fourth Region was carved out of the Western Region. In May, 1967, all the Regions were abolished and in their place were created twelve states.

training problems of the region's public service. In his report,[2] Dr. Kingsley recommended a programme of continuous staff development specifically directed to improving staff performance in a particular post or class of posts. As a result of this report a comprehensive training programme was adopted and a Civil Service Training School was set up.

Training Problems in Post-Independence Period, 1960–1968

Thus, the main pre-occupation with in-service training in general and administrative training in particular before independence was the need to find enough qualified Nigerians to replace the rapidly increasing number of expatriates who were leaving the services. Inevitably, officials were trained not simply to improve their performance in their existing posts but in order to qualify them for the assumption of higher responsibility.

Two years after independence, the Nigerianization of all administrative posts had been virtually completed in the West. One of the consequences of this was a massive dilution of experience. The volume of available experience shrank considerably at a time when the pace of development had accelerated and the complexity of administrative problems had increased. This situation soon developed into a vicious circle. Shortage of experienced administrative staff meant that the young administrators could not be given adequate on-the-job training and because they were inadequately trained, they were ineffective in their work.

Yet the post-independence administrators were soon faced with a most formidable new task – the implementation of Nigeria's first national development plan which was launched in July, 1962.[3] The planned capital expenditure under this Plan was £676.8 million, every sphere of Government activity was affected. To implement this Plan successfully required considerable development-oriented administrative capacity. In other words, administrators were to become increasingly involved in the development effort rather than be principally concerned with the maintenance of law and order.

It was in order to formulate a training programme which would inculcate in the administrators the skills required for development administration that the Western Nigeria Government set up a Committee in February, 1962, under its Chief Secretary, Chief S.O. Adebo, C.M.G., on the training of administrative officers. The report of this Committee and the subsequent adoption of most of its recommendations marked the beginning of a new phase in administrative training in Western Nigeria.

The Committee was asked to consider the pre-entry qualifications to administrative posts in the Civil Service and the in-service training required by new entrants. While accepting that any broad-based scheme of academic studies should be acceptable as a basic requirement the Committee recommended that in order to be professionally qualified, a cadet administrative officer must in addition to his undergraduate studies have successfully

---

[2] J. Donald Kingsley, *Staffing, Organizational and Training Problems in the Public Service of the Western Region of Nigeria*, (September, 1958), mimeographed.

[3] *National Development Plan, 1962–68*, (Federal Ministry of Economic Development, Lagos); pp. 23 and 24.

completed a course of post-graduate studies "designed to provide supplementary academic as well as professional training."[4]

In approaching its task, the Committee made the following basic assumptions:

(i) That the primary objective of public administration in independent Nigeria is to guide, foster and maximize social and economic development rather than, as formerly, to maintain law and order;

(ii) That by choice, and of necessity, the bulk of social and economic development will be undertaken by the State itself or will be effectively controlled by the State;

(iii) That success in this complex and challenging task will require intelligent, co-ordinated, and directed utilization of a wide variety of specialised talents and techniques by those controlling the State administrative apparatus;

(iv) That senior administrators must accordingly be wise decision-makers and professionally trained and skilful decision-executors. This means development in this group of social and political maturity, of skill in analysis and communication, of scientific management techniques, and a good grasp of the basic economic facts of life in a developing economy; and,

(v) That competent administrators will remain in short supply in Nigeria in the foreseeable future. One result of this shortage is that the opportunity for on-the-job training prior to assumption of major decision-making and executive responsibility is significantly diminished.

Given these assumptions, the Committee was of the view that a general university education, in-service training programmes, on-the-job training, or management training outside the context of Nigerian economic and social problems (e.g. in the United Kingdom or in the United States) are inadequate, singly or in combination, to equip Nigerian administrators for their role in this national effort. It accordingly recommended the establishment of an Institute of Administration at a post-graduate and at a professional level in Nigeria within the University of Ife.

Upon the approval of the report of the Committee, the Institute of Public Administration, New York, was asked to prepare a report on the implementation of the proposals. In May, 1963, the report of that Institute entitled *An Institute of Administration for Western Nigeria*[5] was submitted to the University of Ife and the Government of Western Nigeria. In June, 1963, the Western Nigeria Government, the University of Ife and the Institute of Public Administration, New York, executed a tripartite charter for a co-operative effort to establish and develop a new Institute which would meet both the training needs of the Public Service of Western Nigeria as well as those of the public services of the other governments in the Federation and of Africa. Immediately, thereafter, a request for financial assistance was forwarded to the Ford Foundation of New York. After favourable response

[4] *Report of the Committee on the Training of Administrative Officers*, June, 1962 (mimeographed); p. 5.

[5] This report was prepared by Dr. Lyle C. Fitch, President of the Institute of Public Administration, New York. He was assisted by Mr. John C. Honey of the same Institute.

to this request, the Institute was formally established in July, 1963, and commenced its first post-graduate Diploma Course in Public Administration four months later. Ground for a permanent building for the Institute at the Ibadan site of the University was broken in March, 1964.

In accordance with the report of the Committee on the Training of Administrative Officers referred to above, the objectives of the Institute as contained in its Charter are as follows:

(a) to provide courses of instruction at post-graduate level for such higher degrees and post-graduate diplomas, and other distinctions of the University as may be approved by the Senate;
(b) to provide, with the approval of the Governing Board, specialist training courses for the administrative and professional cadres of the Public Services, Statutory Corporations, Local Government staff and the managerial staff of commercial and industrial firms;
(c) to provide consultancy services for governments, business organizations, statutory corporations and local authorities;
(d) to conduct basic and applied research; and,
(e) to carry out such other functions as may be decided by the Governing Board with the approval of Senate.

In order to meet its responsibility efficiently and expeditiously, the Institute was granted a large measure of autonomy in matters of staffing, curriculum and budget. A Governing Board, consisting of the Vice-Chancellor of the University as Chairman, three members of the Western Nigeria Public Service, two members of the Federal Public Service, two members of the University Senate, two members of the University Council, one representative of the Institute of Public Administration, New York, one member representing the practice or teaching of public administration in the United Kingdom, one member representing the Nigerian Society for Public Administration and one member representing the Nigerian Institute of Management and the Director of the Institute, was set up. The Board is responsible for the administration of the Institute subject to the overall control of the Provisional Council and the Senate of the University.

Developing the Curriculum for Administrative Training

The Committee on the Training of Administrative Officers gave considerable attention to what should be the contents of the post-graduate diploma course in public administration which should be offered at the proposed Institute of Administration. The objective of this course, it argued, should be to inculcate into the administrative officer an awareness of his future functions as (i) a problem solver; (ii) one who knows how to make things happen; (iii) one who knows how to influence others and their activities; (iv) one who is organisationally aware; (v) one who possesses the technique of continuing self-development; and (vi) one who is appreciative of the special needs and techniques of administration in a fast developing and yet underdeveloped country.[6]

It accordingly recommended that the course be divided into four parts: (i) formal, professional courses in the Institute; (ii) academic background studies; (iii) week-end workshops and special lectures; and (iv) periods of

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

supervised attachment. It recommended that (i) should include such subjects as Public Administration, the Constitutions and Governments of Nigeria, Statistics, Management Accounting, Public Finance and Budgeting, Programming, Control and Co-ordination of Government Work, Personnel Management, and Communication and Logic.[7]

The academic background studies recommended include courses in Economics, Sociology, Politics and Modern Languages. The third part of the programme should, as the Committee puts it, be designed "to whet the appetites of students for disciplines which have been neglected in earlier years, to fill gaps in professional training which are not of sufficient magnitude to be included in the curriculum proper and to make some effort to produce well-rounded as well as professionally competent administrators."[8] Finally, there will be a period of internship lasting for approximately one month. During this period the students will be attached to government offices or public corporations where they will receive practical training under supervision. This was indeed a very ambitious programme for a course which will run for only one academic session. The Committee had held the view that the government could not release its administrative personnel for more than one academic year.

The Institute of Public Administration, New York (IPA), while accepting the recommendations of the Adebo Committee as offering a sound foundation on which administrative training could be built, expressed two reservations. First, it doubted whether a professional course such as was envisaged by the Committee could be adequately provided in a one-year programme. Second, it did not consider internship as proposed by the Committee practicable. The Committee had suggested that the internship should take place during the Christmas and Easter vacations. But in the opinion of IPA, "the diploma course itself will be an intensive and exhausting experience, and students undergoing it will be in need of relaxation and the opportunity to consolidate their learning during the vacation periods; to attempt to press the programme through vacations might . . . be self-defeating. A productive and significant programme for interns coming into government offices for short periods requires a great amount of organization and substantial time of government officers . . . students might well be shunted off to corners and given . . . unconstructive experience. The problem . . . would be exacerbated by the fact that work in government offices typically slows down during these periods (Christmas and Easter seasons)."[9]

When the first diploma course was offered in 1963–64 academic session, the curriculum was divided into four groups of courses. The first group is the Political, Social and Economic Framework of Administration, which consisted of such subjects as Nigerian political and administrative institutions, problems of development in tropical Africa, public finance in developing countries, and comparative government. The second group, the Administrative Process, consisted of logical thinking and communication, elements of decision making and problem-solving, administrative planning, organization and controls, human relations and staff development, and comparative

[7] *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11.
[8] *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

administration. The Tools of Management and Administration which included budgeting, management accounting, statistics, organization and methods, personnel and manpower utilization, and techniques of intra-governmental communications, constituted the third group. The course ended with a month-long administrative workshop consisting of a six-day session in human relations and staff development to develop skills of supervision; a twelve-day study of contemporary local government including a seven-day field trip and attachments to Local Government Advisers' Offices; and a nine-day programme of study, by seminar and syndicate work, of the policies and current activities of major government departments and corporations.

This was indeed a very crowded programme. It was therefore not surprising that the students complained of being overworked. There were in all sixteen courses and sub-courses. However, most of them are for one or two terms only; very few ran throughout the year. But when the students were asked in the end-of-course evaluation to suggest which of the subjects should be deleted, only very few of them had any suggestion to offer and even then this was not based on the relevance or otherwise of the subject to the overall objective of the course but on the ground that the subject was either too difficult or too technical or both. For example, one student suggested that statistics should be deleted on the grounds that it is too mathematical "and mathematics is of no use to administrators." Other students have suggested the deletion of such subjects as accounting and logic on the same grounds.

As the IPA had correctly anticipated in its report, successive students have found the course an intensive and exhausting experience. But in spite of this, the students have always suggested the inclusion of additional subjects. The new subjects so recommended have varied from philosophy, psychology, and law to general orders, and office routine. One suggestion by the students on the first diploma course which was implemented in the following academic year was the introduction of two new courses – Principles of Economics and the Elements of Government – at undergraduate level. These courses offered during the first three weeks of the academic session – the orientation period – are designed to enable students who have not studied either or both subjects at undergraduate level to comprehend more fully subsequent courses.

The problem of preparing a curriculum for a professional-cum-academic postgraduate course in public administration is far from being an easy one. Requirements for entry into the administrative class of the Nigerian Civil Services are simply the possession of a good honours degree. It does not matter in what discipline the degree is obtained. The result is that the diploma class is always a very heterogeneous one as far as the academic background of the students is concerned. Except in one year, 1966–67, graduates in the social sciences have always been in minority. Given therefore this heterogeneous academic background, it is not surprising that the students felt the need for introductory courses in economics and government.

In 1966–67 session, another introductory course, Introduction to Research Methodology, was introduced. Although all these courses are voluntary, it is significant that all students including graduates in the social sciences have taken them.

Over the years and with more experience in curriculum development, the diploma course has undergone remarkable changes for the better. The course offerings are now more concentrated and less diffused. The programme is now divided into two semesters. During the first semester, all students are to offer the four compulsory subjects – Nigerian Administration, Principles and Practices of Public Administration, Principles and Problems of Economic Development, and Principles of Fiscal Policy and Taxation – and any two of the half a dozen elective subjects available, viz., Statistics, Organization and Methods, Accounting, Administrative Law, Social and Political Theory, and Methodology of Social Sciences. During the second semester, a student can specialize in either Advanced Public Administration or Planning, Budgeting and Financial Administration. Five courses are offered under each sphere of specialization and two of these – Seminars in Applied Administrative Management, and Preparation and Administration of Development Projects – are common to both. The other courses in the field of Advanced Public Administration are Comparative Public Administration, Principles and Practices of Public Personnel Administration and Comparative Local Government Administration. In the Planning, Budgeting and Financial Administration area, the three other courses are Government Budgeting and Fiscal Administration in Nigeria, Financing Economic Development in Developing Countries, and Techniques and Problems of Economic Planning.

It is intended to provide other areas of specialization as the demand justifies. Two areas which may be included in the near future are social administration and the administration of public enterprise. These are all the areas of operation in which the administrators are increasingly becoming involved. The Institute is moving away from the generalist conception of administration and has introduced a specialist element into its curriculum. It has however not gone the whole way because the administrator is now being called to be a generalist and a specialist at the same time.

Developing a curriculum is perhaps the most challenging task which faces any institute of administration – particularly an institute which is University-based. There is always the danger that the programme might become too academically oriented. There is also the danger particularly with Institutes attached to Establishment Ministries that the basic tools aspect of administration – might receive too much emphasis at the expense of academic studies designed to widen administrators' horizon and increase their knowledge base. The Institute is acutely aware of both dangers. During the past five years, it has succeeded in evolving a programme that is neither too academic nor too pedestrian. Little wonder that our academic colleagues particularly some of those on the Higher Degrees Committee[10] complain that our courses are too pedestrian while some civil servants and our own students sometimes think they are too academically biased.

In spite of the high standard laid down, the overall performance of the students has been satisfactory as Table I shows. Of the 85 students who have so far completed the course, 72 (i.e. 85 per cent) have done so successfully.

[10]The Higher Degrees Committee is a Committee of the University's Senate and has responsibilty for all post-graduate programmes.

Table I: *Diploma in Public Administration Examination Results*, 1963–68

Academic Session	Enrolment	No. of Passes	No. of Failures	Withdrawals
1963–64	10	10	—	—
1964–65	19	12	5	2
1965–66	20	16	4	—
1966–67	19	16	2	1
1967–68	20	18	2	—

SOURCE: Institute of Administration, University of Ife, *Annual Report*, various years.

Evaluating the Administrative Training Programme

End-of-course evaluation has been a regular feature at the IPA. The students are asked to complete a questionnaire and in order to ensure that they give their views frankly and without fear or favour, they are asked not to sign it. This anonymity has enabled the Institute to obtain the frank and honest views of its students.

The questionnaire covers a wide area. Students are asked to indicate which subjects they have found (a) most difficult, (b) easiest, and (c) most time-consuming. They are also asked to suggest subjects which should be added to or deleted from the programme. In addition, there are questions on the training techniques used, the value of the field trips, the workshops, extra-curricula activities, the length of the course and, finally, the students' overall view on the whole programme.

Reference has already been made to the students' suggestion for more subjects to be added to the curriculum and their reluctance to suggest deletions. But the most instructive part of the questionnaire is the section dealing with general comments. Here students are free to say what they like about the course. Surprisingly, they have been most laudatory in their overall appraisal. One student, whose view is typical, listed the benefits he has derived from the course as follows:

> "It gives me the advantage of broadening my knowledge; it helps me to clear certain hazy ideas . . . makes one more confident as a government official with heavy responsibilities. It exposes one to the evaluation of oneself in an atmosphere that is more relaxed (but more testing because it is more practical) than the normal University experience. Finally, I admire the discussion approach of the lectures as opposed to the straightforward lecturing as is normally practised in Universities".

Another student from another class commented as follows:

> "This is a most helpful course to beginners in administrative work. It helps to widen administrative outlook and experience as well orientate attitude to development administration . . . But could the Institute not arrange for older administrators to attend a similar though shorter course? That will be helpful indeed."

Many students have suggested that the course should be extended from ten months to twelve or fifteen months because it is too strenuous.

In addition to post-training evaluation, the Institute does undertake regular evaluations during the course. Feedback sessions are held and formal examinations are taken twice during the year. The purpose of the feedback sessions is to enable the students and staff to review course progress and discuss administrative and academic problems encountered. Each student is also attached to a member of the Faculty for such guidance as may be required.

It has always been intended that the Institute should maintain close contact with its *alumni* and evaluate the diploma course in the light of their subsequent experience. Accordingly, a two-stage post-course evaluation was planned in August, 1965 for the participants of the first diploma course. The first stage consisted of a structured interview with each former student by a faculty member followed by an extended interview with his supervisor or supervisors since leaving the Institute. Unfortunately, the military *coup d'etat* of January, 1966, and the subsequent civil disturbances prevented the completion of this exercise. Even so the first stage was completed before the coup and has yielded very valuable information. Upon the completion of their course, all the trainees were posted to key Ministries responsible for co-ordinating governmental policies and programmes (Finance, Establishments and Organization, and Economic Planning) and to the chief executive Ministries responsible for the implementation of these programmes (Local Government, Justice, Agriculture and Natural Resources, and Education). Their job activities varied widely – from working on the review of the development plan, assisting in formulating and implementing personnel and establishment policies, and the preparation of departmental budgets to routine administration. When asked to indicate the applicability and value of the subjects taken during their course to their work in the light of their post-training experience, they all testified that almost all the subjects have proved useful. The only subjects about which some of them have doubts being statistics and accounting. On the other hand, they were full of ideas about what new courses should be introduced.

In response to the questions about the contribution of the course to their adjustment to the Public Service, their competitive position in relation to colleagues who have not had similar training and their relationships with supervisors and subordinates, all the respondents thought that the course had given them an edge over their colleagues, and has made their adjustment to Public Service easy. Some however felt that their supervisors would need to be given vigorous training in order that they might appreciate fully the intricacies and implications of development administration. As soon as the political situation in Nigeria permits, it is intended to follow up this preliminary post-training evaluation. The Diploma Course which has now been offered for five years has turned out 85 junior administrative officers. Their retrospective views and evaluation as well as those of their supervisors will be extremely valuable in assessing the impact of the course on Nigerian Administration.

Future Development of Administrative Training

During the past five years, a number of problems have inevitably arisen.

As some of these are likely to affect the future of administrative training in Nigeria, they are discussed briefly in this section. No doubt similar problems have arisen elsewhere.

The first of these problems is how to get all the public services in the country to become more training conscious. With the division of the country into 12 states, Nigeria now has 13 civil services – one for each State and one for the Federal Government. Each of these services has its own administrative class. Under the old political set-up when there were four regions the country had five civil services with a total of about a thousand administrative officers. The structure of each civil service is such that members of the administrative class occupy a pre-eminent position. The developmental and managerial functions of government devolve largely on its members. It is therefore most essential that they should be given the best professional training possible so that they can become skilled managers. Although many senior officials appreciate this need, yet little is done. On the grounds that they are short of staff, many civil services go from year to year neglecting the training of their administrative staff. And this lack of training has impeded in no small way the effectiveness of these officers.

In the seriousness with which it tackles the problem of administrative training, the Government of Western Nigeria is unique. Since 1963, all new entrants to its administrative class are required to undergo the ten months course at the Institute. The cumulative effect of this on efficiency cannot be over emphasized.

Table II shows the distribution of the participants in the post-graduate

Table II: Enrolment for the D.P.A. Course by Sponsors, 1963–68

Sponsoring Authority	Academic Sessions					
	1963–64	1964–65	1965–66	1966–67	1967–68	Total 1963–68
Federal Govt.	—	3	—	—	—	3
Western Nigeria Govt.	10	14	17	18	12	71
Eastern Nigeria Govt.	—	1	1	—	—	2
Mid-Western Nigeria Govt.	—	—	—	1	—	1
Statutory Corporations	—	1	2	—	3	6
Overseas Govt.	—	—	—	—	1	1
Private Students	—	—	—	—	4	4
Total	10	19	20	19	20	88

SOURCE: Institute of Administration, University of Ife, *Annual Report*, various years.

public administration diploma course by sponsors. Four-fifths of the participants have come from the Western Nigeria Administrative Service. The result is that between 1963 and 1968, all the newly recruited administrative staff of the West, now constituting about 40 per cent of the total administrative strength of that region's public service, have received professional training. The Federal Civil Service alone has more than twice the number of administrative officers in the West. There is therefore considerable scope for administrative training in Nigeria. Fortunately, the federal and other state governments are beginning to realize the need to follow the example of the West in this regard. The Institute was recently commissioned by the federal government to undertake a survey of the training needs of its civil service.[11]

The second problem which has been encountered relates to the attitude of he trainees. 'What will be our reward for undergoing such a strenuous course?' most of them invariably ask. The pre-independence practice of training for promotion is still remembered! This has posed a fundamental problem. Should an in-service training programme be consciously devised to fit people for promotion vacancies or should it be directed to improving performance in a particular post or class of posts? In other words, should training be for promotion or for efficiency?

Training for promotion is far less efficient than training for efficiency. With virtually all administrative posts Nigerianized, training for promotion is likely to have a disruptive effect on service operations. It will also adversely affect morale. This however does not mean that incentives should not be provided to trainees. Such incentives as double salary increment to students whose performance on the course reaches a stipulated minimum is likely to change the attitude of trainees and make them more enthusiastic about training. The Institute has on its own introduced some incentives into the programme. For example, prizes are now awarded to the students with the most outstanding performance. But such prizes are very limited in number. On the part of the trainees, they should realize that training not only adds to their qualifications but enhances their career prospects in the long run.

The third problem is the competition posed by overseas training institutions. There have developed in many countries in Western Europe and North America many training institutions which specifically cater for officials of the governments of less-developed countries. These institutions are either sponsored by governments, by foundations or by international bodies. The sponsoring authorities also ensure the availability of trainees through the provision of generous financial assistance. The result is that many officials who are reluctant to attend training courses at home jump at the opportunity for training abroad and little attention is paid to the relevance of such overseas training programmes. Given the level of technological development in less-developed countries, there is no gainsaying the fact that advanced technical training can best be done in the institutions of the technologically advanced countries. But administrative training at whatever level is more effectively done locally. It is inconceivable for officials of the United States

[11]This survey was undertaken by Prof. C. P. Wolle, a Senior Consultant in the Institute in 1967. His report, which was submitted by the end of that year, is now being studied by the Federal Ministry of Establishments.

Government to be sent to the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration* in Paris while any suggestion that French or American officials should go to the Centre for Administrative Studies in London for their in-service training will be regarded as ludicrous. Yet this is what officials of less-developed countries are asked to do. Could the donor countries and institutions not concentrate their resources in assisting in the development of viable administrative training institutions in the developing countries as well as help in the training of trainers?

No one is suggesting that officials should not be sent abroad for specialized training but such training must really be specialized and unobtainable locally. Overseas training should be complementary to local training and not competitive with it. About two years ago, an American colleague at the Institute paid several visits to Government Ministries imploring them to release some of their officials for training. If each Ministry could release one official annually, there would be more trainees than the Institute could cope with, he pleaded. He was assured that no one could be released because of the general shortage of staff. A few days later he learned that forty senior officials had been nominated for a nine months course available in the United States! Bitterly he suggested that for maximum effectiveness the Institute should be transferred to Washington D.C., New York, or Boston! The time has come for the governments of developing countries to realize that it is in their long-term interest to see to it that their officials are trained at home. Experts could and should be brought from overseas but in-service training is most effectively and cheaply provided locally. Officials should be made to develop a sense of pride in receiving their basic training within their own country.

The fourth problem is how to reach senior administrative and professional personnel under whom the trained young administrative officers would work. It was realized right from the start that in order to maximize the effectiveness of the professional training being provided to these young administrators, it is essential that their supervisors should themselves have a short but intensive course in development administration. After consultation with the various governments in Nigeria, a ten-week Advanced Course in Economic Development and the Administrative Process for Senior Officers of Governments and Corporations was offered for the first time in the 1964–65 academic session, i.e. during the Institute's second year of operation. As its title indicates the curriculum is divided into two main groups – Economic Development and the Administrative Process. The former part of the curriculum is made up of the following subjects: development strategy; fiscal policy and financial administration; project preparation and appraisal; and, the theory and practice of foreign aid. The administrative process courses consist of essentials for improvement in administration; advanced principles and practices of personnel management; and a human relations workshop. The course has since been offered every year.

This Senior Officers Course is unique in many ways. It is the only course of its kind in Nigeria which brings together senior professional and administrative officers to discuss the problems of development and administration in Nigeria in particular and in the developing countries in general. If the experience of the past four years is anything to go by, participation in such a

course has led to the development of an *esprit de corps*. Mutual respect and tolerance for each other's views has invariably developed after weeks of close association and collaboration. Another unusual feature of the course is that it brings together senior government and corporation officials in an atmosphere which encourages free and frank discussion and promotes a better understanding of the problems facing both the public services in their developmental functions and the governments' agencies for development. Finally, the course brings together senior officials from the various ethnic groups of the different parts of the Federation, thereby strengthening the bond of unity in the country.

Conclusions

A number of conclusions emerge from this brief survey of administrative training in Western Nigeria. Since 1963, administrative training has been primarily for increasing efficiency but the training is still confined to cadet administrative officers.

What should constitute an administrative training programme depends on the stage of development of the particular country and the purpose and scope of Administration. In post-independence Nigeria, administrators have become increasingly concerned with the economic and social development and the curriculum has accordingly been oriented towards development administration. If the training programme is to continue to meet the needs of the country, its content should be kept under constant evaluation.

A great deal of debate has gone on during the past few years as to whether a University-based administrative training institution can be responsive to the constantly changing needs of the public services. It has been suggested that it is probably "easier to move a cemetery than to change a curriculum", and that "a major obstacle to establishing educational programmes of stature in most countries is the paralysis created by traditional university organization."[12] The experience of the Institute during the past five years does not support these views. The Senate of the University of Ife has given every support to the Institute in the development of its curriculum. There is no doubt that there are some members who may want the Institute to emphasize the purely academic aspects of its programme at the expense of the professional ones but by and large such people are in a minority. In any case, the Institute has its own Governing Board which consists of representatives of Government, Senate and professional institutions and societies and neither the government nor the University is in a majority on the Board.

[12]Donald C. Stone, "Tasks, Precedents and Approaches to Education for Development Administration", in *Education for Development Administration: A Symposium*, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, Brussels, 1966; p. 34.

Local Government Elections in a One-Party State

By SIMON HARDWICK

Mr. Hardwick was lately tutor at the Local Government Training Centre, Mzumbe, Tanzania.

Introduction

On the 4th December, 1966, Local Government Elections were held throughout the mainland of Tanzania. These elections were the first of their kind to be conducted under the aegis of a one-party system, and this article sets out to survey why the new electoral system came into being, and how it was put into action. The scope of this survey has been extended so as to consider the effect of the new provisions concerning appointed members because they are a major feature of the new system of representation. As a general comment, it may be added that the new local government elections system was not in itself so revolutionary since it closely followed, subject to a few modifications, the law relating to national elections which had been considerably revised in 1965.

Background

In order to appreciate adequately the background to the present system of elections, one must go back to pre-independent Tanganyika. By 1960, TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) had already built itself up as an extremely powerful and well-organized party throughout Tanganyika, and by 1961 it had already turned its attention to local government matters and thoroughly penetrated this sphere. As a result of this, anyone who contemplated standing as an independent candidate for a council seat appeared to be in opposition to TANU. Therefore, the position was reached that through the dominance of TANU and through the unwillingness of people to appear to be in opposition to the party, almost no one was willing to stand in opposition to the official TANU candidates. The result of this in practice had been that during the period 1961 to 1966, practically all the local government elections were uncontested, and consequently local people were effectively deprived of their franchise.

Presidential Commission

The major constitutional changes affecting both central and local government originated from the recommendations of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry on the establishment of a democratic one-party state. The Commission set up in 1964 reported in the following year. Its recommendations in the sphere of local government were aimed mainly at removing the considerable confusion that existed over the respective roles of TANU and

local authorities. The solution offered was to incorporate TANU at district level within the structure of local authorities and to this end it was recommended that local councils should be composed of three classes of members:

(1) ex-officio (all members TANU district executive),
(2) members appointed by the President (selected civil servants),
(3) elected members.

For the elected seats, both to avoid too many candidates and too many unopposed returns, the Commission recommended that there should be three candidates per seat (later reduced by government to two), each to have twenty-five nominators, the district executive committee to make the final selection with provision for intervention by the national executive of the party in exceptional cases. While government was considering these proposals along with central government recommendations, the existing laws for local government elections (Cap. 379 Urban Elections Ordinance and Cap. 462 Local Government Rural Elections Act) were suspended and the existing councillors were allowed to continue in office until government had finally decided what its detailed policy would be. This suspension was effected by the Local Government Elections (Suspension) Act of 1965. Meanwhile, acting on the report of the Presidential Commission as modified by government's views, national elections took place in September, 1965 on the basis of a one-party state, the necessary amendments having been made to the National Assembly Elections Act.

Second Vice-President's Committee

After Government had had time to examine the results of and operation of the National Elections in 1965, a committee was set up by the Second Vice-President on 18th March, 1966, to reconsider the local government structure and electoral system in the light of experience gained in the national election. This was a high-powered committee consisting of one minister, three regional commissioners, one member of Parliament, the chairman of the Association of Rural Local Authorities, a representative of the Attorney-General and three top officials in the ministry responsible for the local government. It took as its terms of reference the recommendations of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry and set itself to consider to what extent these should be altered or expanded. Generally speaking, this committee followed the recommendations of the Presidential Commission with the notable exception of deciding that the district executive committee of TANU should not be ex-officio members of local authority councils; it was considered that they should act as an individual pressure group and watchdog, always able to redirect the council when they thought it was going astray, but in order to maintain close contact between the council and TANU, it was recommended that the executive officer or the town clerk should be an ex-officio member of the TANU district executive.

It is convenient at this point to lay down a summary of this Committee's detailed recommendations since they were almost all adopted and incorporated in the new Local Government Elections Act. It was recommended that the local government elections should take place under the supervision of the the Electoral Commission and that in order to effect this, that the minimum

age for voters should be 21 as for national elections (it was already 21 under the Urban Elections Ordinance, and although the minimum age for Rural Elections was 18, the Rural Elections Act was never in fact implemented). It was recommended that the franchise should be extended to all the residents of a council's area, and that the former property qualification should be abandoned as being contrary to the spirit of a socialist state. It was also recommended that the central committee of the party should delegate practically all its functions to the district executive committee and merely reserve to itself the power of calling for a list of the candidates and altering this list in exceptional circumstances. Further points were that the party should control the campaign of all the candidates who should be presented to the public on an equal basis, the term of office would be three years, and all the councillors would retire together, elections would be held throughout the territory simultaneously and there would be one Elections Act applying to both urban and rural councils. The committee also recommended that there should only be two classes of members – elected and appointed; the appointed members would be partly civil servants (who should continue to be ineligible for election) and partly members of the TANU district executive where deemed necessary. There should be no power of co-option. It had already been decided by government that the chairman of TANU for the district should be the chairman of the council: this committee took the view that in this case the functions of the chairman of the council should be laid down in law. As regards voting, the committee recommended that there should be one ballot box per candidate in each polling station. Each box would have the candidate's photograph on it, and the voter would cast his vote by dropping an unmarked (but numbered) card in the box of the candidate of his choice. The boxes, of course, would be screened from view. Thus the political and psychological effects of symbols and colours would be avoided.

Government White Paper

Government White Paper No. 1 of 1966 outlined the policy decisions reached on the Committee's report. The recommendations of the Committee were accepted with two major exceptions, (a) the method of voting at the national elections was to be followed (i.e. symbols were to be used after all on the ballot papers) with one important modification – a rubber stamp with an "X" mark was to be used (this was later changed to a "V" as some regarded an "X" as a negative indication), and (b) the functions of the chairmen of local authorities would not be statutorily defined, though, as the Committee recommended the title of "Mayor" in City and Municipal Councils would be omitted. A maximum of ten members to be appointed by the President to any council was specified in the White Paper and this was put into effect when the Instruments of all councils were amended appropriately, at the end of 1966.

The White Paper also provided government decision that all nominations for election should be dealt with initially by the sub-branch of TANU which had as its area of activity the ward of a council. As it had previously been agreed that the chairman of the council should be the person who had already

been elected district chairman of TANU, the White Paper, recognizing the danger that the councillors would get no chance to choose their own chairman decided that the TANU constitution should be amended so that all elected councillors should be delegates to the annual district conference which elected the chairman.

The Electoral Law

These policy proposals of government were presented to the July session of the National Assembly and were given general approval. The new electoral law was then drafted. It was closely modelled on the National Assembly Elections Act (Act II of 1964, amended by Act 46 of 1965).

The timetable laid down for the implementation of the election programme was extremely tight, since government was determined to complete the whole process by the end of the year so that the election of councillors would not have to be postponed any longer. As seen above, the White Paper containing government's proposals was laid before the July sitting of Parliament and the Parliamentary Draftsman had only August in which to complete his task. The Act was passed in September and received presidential assent on 8th October.

Little time was available to prepare for the elections and to train the personnel in the new procedures and it was necessary to start instruction before the law was in fact enacted. Three 3-day Seminars were held for local authority chief officers, conducted by the writer and a fellow tutor at the Local Government Training Centre, Mzumbe after they had received briefing from the Electoral Commission in Dar es Salaam. The chief officers had to master a new bill and then instruct the elections staff in their home areas. Shortcomings in the bill came to light during the seminars and it was possible in some instances to have amendments put in at the committee stage. Inevitably, as will be shown later, with speed the essence of the operation, it was not possible to anticipate and forestall some of the mistakes that would occur when the law was put to the electoral test.

Some of the main features of the Act can now be described:

Electoral Commission

The Electoral Commission responsible for supervising elections to the National Assembly was likewise made responsible for supervising the local elections and for the provision of the necessary "machinery" – forms, instructional circulars etc. and for such other functions, e.g. in respect of nominations, as the law prescribed.

Supervisory delegates

The Act (like that for the National Elections) provided for delegates of two kinds to supervise the fair operation of the law. For ward level activities, two supervisory delegates were to be appointed by the Electoral Commission from nominees of the party's central committee, which was in practice advised by the district executive committee. The duty of these supervisory delegates was to ensure that the selection of candidates by the branch conference in the ward was carried out fairly and according to law and that the

campaign by the party on behalf of the candidates in the ward was conducted impartially. These delegates would come from another ward. The other kind of supervisory delegate is that for the district executive committee. Two of these for each district executive committee were to be appointed by the commission from nominees of the central committee. These nominees were to be from outside the district concerned and would oversee district level functions.

Candidates for election

In order to be eligible a candiate had to be a citizen, aged 21 or over, a member of TANU and resident in the area of the council to which he sought election. The usual disqualifications applied. Every candidate was required to obtain four separate documents:

(i) the main nomination paper bearing the names, signatures and registration numbers of 25 nominators, all registered voters in the ward he wished to contest,

(ii) a *curriculum vitae* since leaving school, including his TANU activities and his membership of any organizations, public, private or voluntary,

(iii) a statutory declaration duly signed before a magistrate, stating that he was duly qualified to stand (as outlined supra) and was not under any disqualification from standing,

(iv) a certificate from the Registration Officer that his 25 nominators were all registered voters in the ward concerned.

Having got all his papers ready, the candidate had to present them in duplicate, to the Returning Officer in his ward. The latter, or his assistant scrutinized the nomination papers and posted up a copy so that they could be seen by rival candidates and objected to on any of the grounds laid down in the law (narrowly defined and mainly concerned with defects in the nomination paper). Objections had to be made by 4 p.m. on the following day.

Ward Nomination Day was generally referred to as "Primary Nomination Day" to avoid confusion with the final nomination procedure explained below.

Procedure after Primary Nomination

After any objections made at ward level by other candidates or the returning officer were settled, all valid nomination papers were submitted to the annual conference of the Ward branch of TANU. With supervisory delegates present to see fair play, all the validly nominated candidates were subject to questioning by branch members. The proceedings concluded with members present voting by secret ballot for the candidates they considered best – each member having as many votes as there were ward seats to be contested.

Next, the Returning Officer had to convey the result of this ballot, together with the nomination papers, to the district executive committee of TANU which then made the final selection of two candidates to contest each seat, and in no way bound to select those candidates who had obtained preferential votes at ward level.

The secretary of the committee had to certify on the relevant nomination papers that the candidates concerned had been duly nominated to stand by his committee which also was responsible for allocating a symbol to each candidate nominated. In single member rural constituencies, as in the national elections, one candidate was given a hoe symbol, the other a house. Urban areas with as many as four-member wards, proved more complicated.

All the nomination papers and relevant documents were then sent to the Electoral Commission which in turn passed them all on to the central committee of TANU for final scrutiny. From a sample of 736 wards of 31 councils, it appeared that district executive committees only intervened in the nominations of thirty wards and the central committee to have used its powers of intervention on eleven occasions only.

When the nomination procedure was finally completed, the Party was responsible for organizing the election campaign at which candidates were to be given equal opportunity of presenting themselves to the public. To ensure impartial treatment, the campaigns were watched by supervisory delegates.

Voting Procedure

The ballot paper contained the names of the candidates arranged horizontally so that no one candidate should appear to be given preference over another. The symbol of each candidate was printed immediately below the candidate's name. This was a very considerable document for illiterate voters to understand in any urban areas having multi-seat wards. When a voter came to a polling station to vote, all he had to do was to present his voting card to the presiding officer of the polling station who, having satisfied himself from the card that the voter was registered in a polling district within the ward, would stamp the voter's card and then allow him to vote by stamping a ballot paper with the "V" stamp provided. The voter had, of course, to stamp the ballot paper in a screened compartment so that his ballot was secret; he could be advised how to do this by the presiding officer who was not, however, allowed to mark papers on behalf of illiterate voters, but only on behalf of those who were blind or otherwise incapacitated. In single member rural wards the voting procedure was speedy and simple. Voting was to begin at 8 a.m. and finish at 6 p.m., and after the polling stations were closed and the ballot papers, accounts, etc. were completed, the ballot papers were all sent to the Returning Officer's headquarters in the ward where the count was undertaken in the usual way and results declared. Various points arising from this new law will be considered later when it is seen how the elections were carried out.

How the new system worked in practice

Among common errors that arose were:

(a) objections to nominations raised after the time therefor had expired – e.g. at the district executive meeting,

(b) Returning Officers accepting such objections as valid and candidates disqualified unlawfully,

(c) candidates being disqualified by Assistant Returning Officers on "Primary" Nomination Day for technical reasons instead of being helped to put their papers aright e.g. the omission of a necessary signature while plenty of time remained to include it on a nomination paper.

After the nomination procedure already described had been completed and before the election, the central committee of the party, usually for the reasons shown above, found it necessary to intervene and countermand the elections in 254 wards, including 23 wards in one council and 20 in two others. This figure of 254 includes elections in 7 wards which were countermanded for the second time. As a result of an election petition, heard by the High Court in June 1967, a further election was countermanded on the grounds that the symbols on the ballot papers had been switched in the printing. In 1,979 wards, the great majority of which were single-seat, 392 candidates were returned unopposed according to the results declared in the official Gazette. Figures sent from councils indicate that, of the councillors returned at these elections approximately 1,113 were newcomers and approximately 615 had been councillors at the time the election took place.

Reference has been made to the sample figures obtained from 31 Councils out of the 73 on the Tanganyika mainland of Tanzania (this was not a random sample, all councils were circulated with a questionnaire which these alone completed and returned). The figures provided show that in the 736 wards involved 381,856 votes were cast (a number of councillors were, of course, returned unopposed), 9,769 ballot papers were rejected at the count as being void for uncertainty, unmarked, with more candidates names "marked" than seats vacant, with no presiding officer's stamp endorsed etc. In the capital, Dar es Salaam, the number of rejected ballot papers was particularly high (33 per cent in one ward), while in one ward in unsophisticated Ulanga the percentage was almost seventy. In a number of wards the total of rejected ballot papers exceeded the difference in votes between the two contesting candidates.

The writer visited a number of polling stations on Election Day, both in a rural and an urban area. At the first station, a local school, visited just before the poll opened at 8 a.m., many of the voters were lined up ready, carefully segregated into sexes as is often the custom in this part of the country. The good initial attendance here, which was not found at other stations, may have been due to the fact that the polling station was adjacent to the mission church to which the prospective voters were proceeding afterwards to attend Mass. Generally, an extreme apathy to the election was encountered in the areas visited and this may be attributed not so much to lack of public advertisement as to absence of any issues at the election, the fact that there had been a national election only a year previously and that the results would probably not make much difference anyway to the management of local affairs. This attitude is quite typical of many parts of the world, and merely confirms the fact that local government is not intrinsically a subject of major importance unless some issue such as taxation is at stake. This apathy was reflected generally throughout the country where an estimated 794,140 valid votes were cast out of approximately three million registered voters.

Nominated Members

After the elections were over, the government then had to turn its attention to filling the vacancies for the appointed members of councils – ten or half the number of elected members, whichever was less. The President, after consultation down to regional level, filled most of these vacancies according to a standard pattern for district councils, the agricultural officer, the co-operative officer, the district engineer or his representative, a representative of the area commissioner (politically-appointed head of the administration in the district), and the district executive committee secretary of TANU; for towns, the medical officer of health, regional engineer or his representative, regional land officer, regional executive secretary of TANU and a representative of the regional commissioner (head of the administration in the region). In addition, in both urban and rural councils, a woman was often among those nominated in addition to other notables, some from the district executive committee of TANU. The appointment of so many officials in their composition is a new feature of rural councils, though it was already to be found in urban councils to a less extent. Government was evidently determined to see that the deliberations of rural councils should be guided along more realistic and responsible lines than in the past. They were, no doubt, strengthened in this resolve by the fact that several councils were in a precarious financial position (one indeed owed at least three million shillings). It is too early to say what will be the result of this new element in councils, but it may be remarked in passing that, as in other councils, two things are likely to happen, which may outweigh the advantages of the arrangements. One is that the elected councillors, many of whom are scarcely literate, may find themselves overshadowed and intimidated by the display of knowledge of the official members; as well as reducing their effectiveness, this could also divide these councils into two camps. Further, there is always the danger that the officials may find themselves outvoted on a matter which is entirely contrary to the policy of their departments and yet in their official capacity (though the law allows them to have their disagreement recorded in the minutes) have to carry out the policy on which the council had decided. Certainly, the officials face a challenge in that they will often need to present their policies and arguments with a skill which they have not necessarily had to employ before in their jobs. An interesting footnote to this is contained in *The Standard* of 9th June, 1967. It records that the City Council, Dar es Salaam, to which were appointed several leading government officials, had decided that three principal secretaries of ministries were disqualified under the provisions of the law automatically disqualifying a person who fails to attend three consecutive council or committee meetings without being excused. Subsequent to this, three other senior officials have been appointed by the President in their place.

Lessons Learnt

There are quite a lot of lessons to be drawn from these elections. To deal with the strictly legal aspects first, probably, the most serious drawback of this electoral law is the system of voting as applied to the great majority of voters who are either illiterate or scarcely literate. The result of this has been

that, try as the Electoral Commission may, it has not been possible to find symbols which are completely weightless in the eyes of all voters. Several Returning Officers have commented on this, remarking that in the campaigns of candidates more emphasis was laid on the symbol (a house or a hoe) than on the qualities or aims of the candidate. More serious, though inevitable, was that to many people the hoe was a more favourable symbol than the house, and so candidates competed for the allocation of the hoe symbol by the district executive committee. In urban areas the level of literacy is probably higher than in rural areas, even so, more is demanded of the urban voter since the wards are multi-seat, and the voter might be faced with anything up to ten candidates, ranged horizontally with their symbols along the ballot paper. It is not surprising that, on several ballot papers which the writer examined during counting, the voter had made his marks against all the candidates or more marks than there were vacant seats, or in a few cases for none at all, or even on the blank space so invitingly provided on the right hand side! The second Vice-President's 1966 Committee had effectively dealt with this problem, which they had foreseen, by recommending, as we saw earlier, that the ballot paper be a blank (but numbered and stamped) card dropped into a screened box of which there would be one per candidate, each bearing his name and photograph. In this way, despite the slight danger of the introduction of unauthorized papers, the need for the voter to mark a paper distinguishing one candidate from another by his symbol would disappear. It is unfortunate that government did not accept this recommendation.

Another defect which was foreseen before the Bill became law, was the requirement that each candidate must have his statutory declaration signed by a magistrate. This provision resulted in the disqualification of quite a few candidates who were unable to find a magistrate. There are not many primary Court Magistrates in all districts, and it would have been preferable to allow the candidates to subscribe their declaration before a Justice of the Peace (every divisional and assistant divisional executive officer of a local authority is ex-officio Justice of Peace). The difficulty may be shown by the situation in Tunduru, in the south, where there is only one Primary Court Magistrate for the whole district. Happily, here, those responsible used their imagination and sent the unfortunate magistrate on safari round the district for several days doing nothing but sign the candidates' statutory declarations. This could have been avoided and the law needs to be altered. Apart from this difficulty, it may well be contended that the whole procedure of nomination is so complicated as to discourage quite a number of worthy people from standing. This contention has some truth when one considers that each candidate needed four separate papers: the nomination paper, bearing the details of his 25 nominators and their signatures; the form containing his biographical details (4 foolscap-size pages!) the statutory declaration of his eligibility to stand, and the certificate to be obtained from the Registration Officer. This is demanding a lot from the "average man" one expects to find as a local councillor anywhere in the world.

On the administrative side, there is a variety of experience which will be useful in future elections. Overshadowing all was the tremendous haste

with which everything had to be done due to the timetable which the government imposed. Apart from the administrative strain placed on the Returning Officers and their assistants, this haste was reflected in the lack of publicity, and even the unpreparedness of the Party. Several cases occurred of TANU's branches being unable to hold their special conferences to select candidates because at the first attempt they lacked a quorum. The Electoral Commission was set the extremely hard task of having to get printed all the stationery required even for the nomination procedure, and it was not surprising that some nomination papers arrived at stations as late as two days before "Primary" Nomination Day. Fortunately, many returning officers had anticipated this by having their own papers cyclostyled and there is no reason why this should not be done locally in future. In a number of cases, nominations were rejected, correctly, at the primary stage because nominators were found to have nominated more candidates than there were vacancies in the ward,[1] a difficulty accentuated by the fact that voters did not always know which ward they were registered in. This same difficulty recurred on Election Day, when, because registration, particularly in urban areas, had been done hastily and at random for the national elections, voters discovered that they were supposed to vote in a ward other than that in which they actually lived. This was rectified in some cases on election day itself by the registration officer doing some hasty re-registration of voters.

One critic disliked the necessity for all candidates to appear on a public platform during the campaign, being of the opinion that this discouraged some of the candidates who had qualities other than that of being able to speak in public. He quoted at least one instance of a candidate, a former councillor, withdrawing rather than face this ordeal. Another commented on the weather and remarked that normally December would be a wet month in much of the country and communications therefore difficult, but in 1966 the rains were late and no delays occurred. The Act has provided for the next elections in 1969 to be held in October, a month that is generally dry in most of Tanganyika.

The staff used in the elections as Assistant Returning Officers were predominantly teachers though there was also quite a variety of council employees including a number of divisional executive officers. Credit must go to these people as to the chief officers of councils for a job well done in spite of a tight timetable. A word might be said about the counting, particularly, in the urban areas. Those concerned were indebted to Mr. J. H. Whitfield, the former Training Adviser to the Corporation of Secretaries' Course conducted at Mzumbe Training Centre, for advice on the method used to count votes in multi-seat wards, a problem, which evidently had not been considered at the time the Bill was passed. The method used was a simple one: prepared ready was a sheet of paper on which were typed the names of the candidates and below which were small squares in lines of 10; 35 lines thus representing 350 votes. One person could call out the votes recorded on a ballot paper; if these were marked off square by square simultaneously by three enumer-

[1]The relevant section of the Act reads "no person shall nominate more candidates than there are vacancies in the ward". Thus in a single seat ward the second paper handed in with the name of the same nominator as on a previous paper could be validly rejected at primary nomination.

ators, two out of the three, if not all three, would probably produce the same result at the end. This method is commonly used in multi-seat wards in England; it certainly proved satisfactory as tried in East Africa. However, it seems likely that urban areas will be reorganized into single-seat wards before the next elections occur, so as to avoid the complicated ballot paper system. In one urban area, it was found that some of those who had been presiding officers were called in to superintend the counting which was done centrally in the Town Hall. It is obviously better to have fresh personnel on this job as the presiding officer is exhausted after his long day and this was the case here, where several mistakes and re-counts occurred. Meanwhile, quite a lot of the candidates – only a minority attended – and some counting agents got bored and fell asleep in the sultry December air. The counting in this case was completed in the early hours of the morning.

This account has at times been quite critical both of the election law, and also of the way it has been administered. This should not obscure the fact that in the very short time available for their completion, the first local government elections to be held in Tanganyika under a one-party system were carried out in a largely satisfactory manner and few, if any, charges of corruption or favouritism were levelled at those responsible for the election. It now remains to be seen whether the large injections of new blood into councils, particularly from the new elected members, but also the appointed members, will have the effect of making local authorities efficient and dynamic instruments of development, as they should be in a young country. One important fact stands out; for the first time in over six years, local people had a chance to express their views on local government through the polls; one measure of the activity and effectiveness of these new councils in the coming three years will be the degree of interest taken and the percentage of the poll in 1969.

Quarterly Notes

BAHAMAS – *Local Government*

The following extracts are taken from the White Paper recently issued by the Government of the Bahamas Islands.

"There has, hitherto, been no system of local government operating in the Out Islands, although the local Boards of Works and Town Planning Committees have given useful experience in the management of certain functions which the Local Authorities will have to control. The establishment of Local Authorities is, therefore, a new development and one which can only be perfected after trial and experience.

"For this reason it is proposed that Local Authorities should not be established widely in the first instance. The number should be limited to a few places where conditions are most favourable and, in the light of experience gained, this additional responsibility be extended to other districts from time to time until it includes all of the Out Islands.

"A somewhat less advanced system of local organization would be extended to other Out Islands and particulars of this will be given later in this document. Pending the establishment of Local Authorities this system would also apply to all the Out Islands."

Grand Bahama

"With its large population, by Out Island standards, and its rapid rate of development, Grand Bahama, but for one factor, is eminently suited for the establishment of a Local Authority. The one inhibiting factor is the special status granted to the Grand Bahama Port Authority under the Hawksbill Creek Agreement.

"This agreement gives the Port Authority the sole right to carry out many of the important functions which would normally be the responsibility of a Local Authority. For instance, the right to construct and operate public utilities, to administer and control the port, and to lay out and develop the Port Area. At the same time both the Port Authority and its licensees are exempted from all personal and property taxes at the present and pay customs duty only on consumable goods.

"The Government will, of course, abide strictly by the terms of this Agreement, but it was foreseen that the time would come when Freeport would have developed to the stage when some or all of its rights, powers and obligations under the Agreement should be transferred to a Local Authority. However, such a transfer could take place only with the agreement of the Port Authority and the consent of 80 per cent of the licensees.

"An alternative does exist to having a Local Authority for the whole island of Grand Bahama and that is to have an authority with jurisdiction which does not include the Port Area, but this would not seem to be a desirable solution. There is a high degree of interdependence between the

Port Area and the settlements to the East and West. The Port Area depends on the daily flow of labour, currently put at 8,000 which commutes into Freeport from outside. These people from the settlements outside in turn depend upon the employment which Freeport provides and for which, at present, there is no alternative.

"The exclusion of the Port Area from the Grand Bahama Local Authority would result in the widening of the gulf between Freeport and the other settlements and the creation of permanent differences and jealousies which could not be in the best interest of the people of Grand Bahama, the Port Authority or the licensees.

"The Government therefore proposes to have discussions with the Port Authority and the licensees with a view to arriving at a solution which will be in the best interest of all concerned.

"The special position of the Port Authority and the licensees would be recognized on any Local Authority established by providing for representation of the Port Authority on the Local Authority, and by making it possible for all property owners ordinarily resident in Grand Bahama, whether British subjects or not, to register and vote in local government elections."

Elections and Composition of Local Authorities

"All persons who are eligible to vote in national elections would be entitled to vote in local elections. In addition, all non-British subjects who fulfil the residence qualification would be eligible to register and vote in local elections although they will be ineligible to vote in national elections.

"All persons eligible to vote in local elections may be nominated as candidates, but the same disqualifications as those applicable to national elections would apply. In addition, Members of the House of Assembly and the Senate would be ineligible to stand as candidates. It is considered that national representatives should keep to the national arena and local members to the local arena.

"The term of office of a member of a Local Authority would be four years with half the members retiring every two years so as to ensure a degree of continuity in the composition of each authority. The names of those to retire at the end of the first two years would be drawn by ballot.

"The Chairman would be elected annually by secret ballot but he would not be entitled to serve for more than three consecutive periods."

Co-opted members, not to exceed one-third of the elected membership would be given voting powers.

Functions

"Local Authorities would have certain obligatory functions which would be common to them all and certain permissive functions which could be assigned to them by the Minister responsible for administering the Act from time to time."

Obligatory functions would include maintenance of public ferries and roads (excluding trunk roads), town planning, liquor licensing, health and welfare services, minor water supplies.

Revenue of Local Authorities

"Local Authorities should be empowered:

(a) to raise their own revenue within limits clearly set out in the Act;
(b) to receive assigned revenues from Government such as fees in whole or in part for licensing vehicles, bicycles, boats, shops, bars, drivers, dogs, public service franchises, etc;
(c) to receive grants from Government;
(d) to receive other contributions where appropriate; and
(e) to charge for services it provides, e.g. ferries, local water supplies, etc., at rates subject to appropriate ministerial approval.

"The most usual source of revenue for a Local Authority is the local rate which it levies. Within fixed limits the Local Authority would be given discretion as to the actual rate chargeable."

Government Control

"The Minister of Out Island Affairs has been given responsibility for local government. His existing responsibility for Out Island administration would enable central and local government activities on the Out Islands to be co-ordinated and to operate efficaciously side by side."

The Minister would be given such control powers as were necessary to ensure that the finances and administration of the Local Government system maintained adequate standards and provided the public with adequate services.

Staffing and Accommodating Local Authorities

"There is no need for local government to cause a marked increase in central government expenditure. If the people of the Out Islands are to obtain the maximum benefit from a system of local government, the overhead costs must be kept to a minimum.

"Most Out Islands are reasonably well provided with essential government buildings which could be used for local government. There should be no need for any extravagance over Town Halls or Council Chambers nor for the engagement of expensive staff.

"The Commissioner would carry out the duties of Secretary of the Authority. The local District Medical Officer or Public Works area engineer could be co-opted members and act in an advisory and supervisory capacity to the Local Authority in their respective spheres. Initially a Health Inspector, a Works Foreman and a small number of subordinate staff may be all that the Authority would have to supply directly.

"The Commissioner, with his responsibility for carrying out the decisions of the Council as well as his other duties as a public officer of the central government and, as the head of the Authority's paid staff and as the team leader of the other officials in his district, is well placed to ensure the fullest co-operation between the Local Authority and the other public officers in the area.

"Members of the Authority would exercise sovereign power within the Authority and accept responsibility for everything done in the Authority's name, but having settled policy they should delegate authority to their

secretary, their chief executive officer, for taking all but the most important decisions. The secretary would be responsible for the efficient management and execution of the Authority's functions."

Consultation

"Arrangements would be made for the greatest possible measure of consultation between the central government and the Local Authority on matters which are of direct interest to the Local Authority.

"For instance, the line of a new trunk road or the installation of a major water supply would be discussed jointly, while the central government would have to make the ultimate decision, public opinion would have been sounded and quite possibly useful advice received.

"While such consultation would take place and while the Local Authority would exercise its lawful functions, local government would in no way interfere with the central government's intended long term development plan for the Out Islands. The central government would still have overall responsibility for the progress and well-being of all the islands of the Bahamas."

Interim Measures for other Areas

"It is envisaged that local government would be started in a limited number of islands. This will provide practical experience from which it will be possible, if necessary, to amend the local government law or to improve the method under which the Local Authority functions before it is extended to other areas.

"Meanwhile, however, interim measures would be taken in these and other islands with a view to providing the people in those areas with the experience to permit them, eventually, to assume greater responsibility.

"At present the elements of local government which exist in the Out Islands are the Boards of Works, the Town Planning Committees and the Port Authorities. Generally these boards and committees have responsibility for only a very small area and their functions are very limited.

"It is proposed that the functions of these various bodies be combined and that one or at the most two District Committees be set up in each Out Island District."

AUSTRALIA – *New Urban Institute*

Mr. Gavin Walkley has been appointed the first Director of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies. Mr. Walkley has been granted one year's leave of absence from the position of Head of the School of Architecture and Building at the South Australian Institute of Technology.

The Australian Institute of Urban Studies was inaugurated last August and has since received financial support from government, business and private sources. The policy of the Institute's Council, is to implement a planned programme of urgent research into the developmental problems of Australian Cities and Towns in which 82 per cent of the nation's population live. Existing urban research facilities in Australian Universities and elsewhere, would also be co-ordinated.

BRITAIN – *Urban Studies*

URBAN GROWTH

A study of the economics of urban growth and redevelopment is being made by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research. A grant of £20,000 for the study has been made by the Centre for Environmental Studies.

The study concerns the effects of variations in size, shape, density, pattern of land-use and transport systems on both capital costs of construction and running costs in the new and expanded towns.

URBAN SYSTEMS

A study of "urban systems", or environmental areas within towns, is also to be supported by a grant of £20,000 from the Centre for Environmental Studies. This is one of three studies to be carried out by a team under Sir Leslie Martin and Mr. Lionel March of the architectural school of Cambridge University on the interaction of building form and land-use.

One of the results of the study is hoped to be a general theory that will apply both to emergent environmental areas or urban systems in new towns and on the developing outskirts of existing cities, as well as to established environmental areas in existing towns. The theory according to the centre should have significance for both redevelopment and gradual renewal.

According to the centre, past studies in this field have tended to be limited by taking as their starting point preconceived notions of architectural form. Past and present planning controls will also be reviewed, and techniques developed to demonstrate their impact.

NEW ZEALAND – *Ombudsman's powers*

The New Zealand Government is moving slowly towards the extension of the Ombudsman's powers to cover the actions of all local authorities. The Parliamentary Commissioner (Ombudsman) Amendment Bill, 1968, has been introduced which will extend the range of the Ombudsman's scrutiny to Hospital and Education Boards. The Minister of Justice in introducing this measure stated that the experienced gained therefrom would show whether other local bodies could be satisfactorily included at a later stage.

Under the new Bill the Ombudsman will be limited to investigating only the administrative decisions of employees of the Boards. Decisions and policies of local body boards and the decisions of teachers, doctors and surgeons are excluded from his purview.

BRITAIN – *Conference on Planning*

The Institute of Development Studies is organizing a high level international conference on "The Crisis in Planning" to be held at the University of Sussex from 29th June to 10th July. The Conference Chairman will be Dr. Gamani Corea, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Ceylon. Conference Study Groups will first consider the practical problems of planning with particular relevance to Rural Development, Industry, Human Resources and Finance, and later will consider Machinery

and National Planning in the context of the roles appropriate for politicians, planners and administrators respectively.

BRITAIN – *Collection of Africana MS*

Since its inception in 1928, Rhodes House Library in Oxford has been steadily building up its manuscript material. In addition, over the past five years the Oxford Colonial Records Project has deposited in the Library considerable collections of diaries and private papers of former colonial administrators, most of whom served in Africa.

To satisfy a growing demand, the Rhodes House Librarian, has now compiled a summary guide to manuscript Africana in his custody. This is an up-to-date list of holdings and contains, territorially arranged, more than 1,200 entries. The list is available from the Library at £1 ($2.50) per copy, post free.

UNITED NATIONS – *Local Government Training*

ESTIMATING TRAINING NEEDS

The task of estimating training needs is essentially one of identifying the different occupational groups employed in local government and considering the content of training needed by the members of each group. This involves the study of each class of officers or employees and the duties and responsibilities which are assigned to them. Occupational titles may be descriptive, giving a good idea of the tasks which are usually assigned to persons bearing a given title. When such occupational titles as accountant, gardener, or fireman are mentioned, we have at once a fairly good idea of the duties usually assigned. For such occupations, it is possible to prepare a suitable course of training without extensive inquiry on the spot. Other occupational titles, such as manager, supervisor, inspector, or clerk, are less definitive; and it would be wasteful to attempt to prepare training without a fairly intimate knowledge of the tasks and responsibilities associated with them. In the public service, both national and local, the titles of positions as they appear in manning tables and budgets are often far from descriptive and give little idea of the kind of work associated with them. Moreover, there is great variation from one country to another, so that "secretary" and "inspector" may have entirely different meanings.

DECENTRALIZATION

While there are strong arguments in favour of the centralization of planning and general direction of training, it is most important to recognize that the same considerations do not apply to training operations. We have clear demonstrations in the training programmes of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Japan, Northern Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Venezuela and Yugoslavia of the advantages of decentralization in training operations. The provincial and other decentralized training institutions which have been created in those countries make it clear that decentralization in operations is a natural accompaniment of comprehensiveness in the programme. As soon as a country launches a training programme which is intended to provide

some training for a large proportion of local government personnel, wherever they may be found, it must immediately consider the creation of an organization of such proportions as to be capable of carrying the programme into effect.

CORRESPONDENCE STUDY

The analysis of correspondence study with particular reference to its utility in local government training indicates that it has been used with considerable success in a number of different countries, including both technologically advanced and developing ones. Correspondence study is not a method to be relied upon exclusively, but one which offers many possibilities as a supplement to other methods of instruction. Much remains to be done in improving course materials and writing textbooks which will be useful in developing countries. The most interesting and promising experiments in this field appear to be those which combine correspondence study with other forms of training, such as residential courses, seminars, and study groups, as well as with extension classes in local universities and colleges.

Correspondence study has a firm place in the methodology of local government training. It is widely favoured as a method of completing general education and preparing for qualifying or competitive examinations, which are required for appointment or promotion in the local government service of many countries. There is evidence to indicate that students progress better in correspondence courses if they have some opportunity to attend supplementary lectures or to meet in groups with the instructor (tutor). There are good reasons for thinking that correspondence study in direct application to local government training can be improved by the exchange of information among courses or programmes using this method and by preparing better materials for use in vocational training. There is recognition of the value, of combining correspondence course training with other forms of training in a comprehensive and well-planned programme. The United Nations Working Group on Local Government Training, which met in New York in November-December, 1966, went on record to the effect that an international or regional organization might well provide the leadership in these and other matters calculated to improve correspondence study.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The (U.N.) Working Group recommended that the attention of Governments be called to the availability of technical assistance in the field of local government. It noted especially the availability of Special Fund assistance for projects to establish central agencies and institutions for the improvement of local government, including training institutes, in cases where it can be shown clearly that they are likely to accelerate the development process. (From U.N. document ST/TAO/M/40, 1968 – see also "Other Books Received".)

AFRICA – *Local Government*

The second conference on the urgent administrative problems of African Governments mounted by the United Nations Economic Commission for

Africa was held at Addis Ababa 14–27 November, 1968. The following recommendations were made concerning Local Administration:

RECOMMENDATION NO. 17

"African Governments should, with assistance and co-operation of ECA:

(a) ascertain exactly what positive role they desire their particular systems of local administration to play in the effort to achieve the national objectives related to political, economic and social development;

(b) determine the measures whereby that role could be fulfilled;

(c) set out clearly what resources they are willing to devote to the achievement of these ends;

(d) utilize the experiences of African States in developing their systems of local administration by sponsoring study tours for local administration officials to other African countries and by exchanging information in the field of local administration particularly between English-speaking and French-speaking African countries."

RECOMMENDATION NO. 18

"As a matter of urgency, ECA should undertake a comparative study of the structures and organizations of local administration in Africa with a view to their evolution as instruments of development administration and the promotion of national unity and stability in addition to their traditional functions. This study should be followed by a Regional Workshop of experts and representatives of African Governments. *In organizing the study ECA should utilize fully the expertize of Africans and African Institutions.*"

RECOMMENDATION NO. 19

"In addition, ECA should undertake the following studies as soon as practicable:

(i) Administrative problems of urbanization in Africa;

(ii) What credit institutions are available to local authorities in Africa for financing their capital projects."

RECOMMENDATION NO. 20

"In the field of staff development ECA should undertake the following training programmes:

(i) Professional training of local administration officials from both the English and French-speaking countries, with emphasis on development administration and financial management. Such training programmes should be practical and adapted to the particular needs and characteristics of the respective African countries. As far as practicable regional and sub-regional training programmes should be offered by ECA using existing training institutions in Africa.

(ii) Training in manpower planning and utilization in local administration which should also be organized on the same basis as recommended in sub-paragraph (i) above.

(iii) Training programmes on problems of local administration should also be organized for central government officials at regional and sub-regional levels with a view to making these officials more conscious of the role of local administrative units in development administration."

RECOMMENDATION NO. 21

"ECA should organize regular conferences (at least once in two years) for African Ministers from both French and English-speaking African countries responsible for local administration for exchange of views and enlightenment."

RECOMMENDATION NO. 22

"The Conference recommends very strongly that in implementing all the above proposals, ECA should collaborate with training institutions and universities and other relevant regional organizations in Africa."

Book Reviews

THE CRISIS OF INDIAN PLANNING Economic Planning in the 1960's, edited by PAUL STREETEN and MICHAEL LIPTON; *Oxford University Press*, 1968, pp. 424; 75s.

The scale, intensity and urgency of the challenge which India has to meet in her search for economic growth and economic and social integration within a framework of freedom makes constructive criticism and evaluation specially welcome and rewarding. The Falmer Conference in April, 1967, which was jointly sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Institute of Development Studies and the University of Sussex, was a serious effort to bring such criticism to bear on development planning in India and, in the process, perhaps to point to possibilities of greater interchange and co-operation between Britain and India. Even as the conference was being held, it was doubtless apparent that circumstances were conspiring to bring about some kind of break in the continuity of planning in India, and one of India's main elements of hope was beginning to weaken. The sense of change and interruption which this implies may justify the label of crisis under which the papers discussed at the 1967 conference and since substantially rewritten have now been issued in the form of a book by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. But planning, both when the going is smooth and when it is rough, cannot be isolated from other developments in a nation's life, and the truth is that much more than planning has been and is at stake.

Several of the papers in this volume base their analysis directly, perhaps too specifically, on the Draft Outline of the plan for the five years from April, 1966, to March, 1971, which were long conceived as the period of India's Fourth Plan. This document was placed before the Indian Parliament in August, 1966, in the expectation that a final plan would be completed and approved before the General Elections of February, 1967. The hope did not materialize and in due course the Outline fell by the wayside. The Draft Outline had been produced under conditions of economic strain and political irresolution which accompanied the devaluation of the rupee in June, 1966, and had more than its share of weaknesses in data and analysis and in the formulation of problems. It is right to draw attention to these and indeed it is possible to enlarge on the technical criticisms offered at the Falmer Conference. Paul Streeten and Michael Lipton have referred to deficiencies in project analysis and in the determination of rates of return on individual investment proposals. Their points are well taken, although they might not have been acquainted in detail with the marked efforts under way in recent years to bring economic criteria to the consideration of projects, and to apply management techniques in their systematic preparation and execution during construction and their operation after completion. When they go on to point to the study of social and economic microcosms and to the absence of village planning as major failures in method, they seem to have overlooked at least

two pertinent considerations. First, much local analysis and local action enter into planning in the phase of detailed implementation or in preparation for it and do not quite belong to a Draft Outline. Secondly, the questions which are most relevant at this level of analysis are somewhat removed from those which a document setting out the preliminary framework for a national plan of development can hope to answer except in the most general terms.

There are a number of sections in the book which review the past record and proposals for the future with real understanding of the intrinsic nature of the problems of the Indian economy. Among these may be mentioned, for instance, E. A. G. Robinson's discussion on energy investment, the study by Paul Streeten and Roger Hill of aid to India, and the accounts of foreign trade and population problems by Sidney Wells and Robert Cassen. The sections on agriculture and village problems, while making some points which are valid and important, also contain interpretations and speculations about the conditions and facts of rural life and possible paths of development which, to say the least, cannot provide even the outlines of a national or a nationally explicable policy. Their value lies in pressing for a more completely worked out design for development in the rural sector and for a sharper focus on underlying conflicts of interest, so that means for resolving these conflicts may be evolved simultaneously within the democratic process.

The present phase in India's evolution can be described as being one of economic adjustment and political change. Many of the variables are highly inter-dependent and uncertain, and problems and events do not yet form a meaningful pattern, nor can the end of the current phase be readily seen. There is special reason, therefore, for a measure of reserve in reaching political and social judgements on the basis of surmises and information which, at best, are correct only in parts. From this aspect we should have gained if, in appraising the political background, the Falmer Conference had sought a more detached and long-term perspective on the social and organizational issues involved and an analysis of the basic objectives for which, however imperfectly, India has laboured for two decades and more. For, in the last anlaysis, it is by relating facts and experience to these objectives that critical studies by economists and social scientists, both within and outside India, are likely to be of the greatest practical help in the improvement of techniques and strategies for planning the economic development of India.

TARLOK SINGH

JUDICIAL REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION, by Professor S. A. de SMITH; *2nd Edn. London, Steven & Sons,* 1968; 587 pp. Tables, Appendix and Index; £4 4s. 0d.

Eppur si muove. "Far back through creeks and inlets making
Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

Nowadays when one reads any book about any aspect of English administrative law, either the cry of Galileo, or the somewhat hackneyed verse of Clough come straight to mind. Professor de Smith's book is no exception. He has chosen, as he firmly states, to write an excellent monograph on Judicial Review, which is admirable (in the precise sense of the word) rejecting the pressures to write a treatise on administrative law. The first edition was

notable, and the second is no less so. The tremendous range of knowledge of case law from all over the Commonwealth still stamps the book, and it really is an achievement to master this material. Within the field of the book he also carefully incorporates the great range of articles and the literature that appears in this subject here, and across the Atlantic. The whole is welded together in English which make his points stick – a random sentence (well – more or less so) at pp. 112–113 on the use of Mandamus for failure to hear is an excellent example of a clear judgement of a complex line of cases showing how far they have gone, but also how the limits have been and are likely to be drawn. Of course, these were also the virtues of the first edition of this monograph but often virtues become attenuated in a second. Happily this is not so here. Indeed some of the additions are particularly happy. In a solemn book there is relief and added point in the sudden flash of dry humour secreted in a footnote in a story of Bertrand Russell gaining a scholarship and the questions which Professor de Smith raises thereon. There is no doubt that those who live within the clutches of the prerogative orders will continue to welcome this book, and use it heavily for it is of interest not merely to those interested in theory, but it must also be of great utility to those engaged in practice. There is no point in detailing changes, but it should be said that the enlargement of Chapter I – The Place of Judicial Review in Administrative Law – is especially welcome in setting the scene, and the serious student should return to it regularly in his reading. The Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration is, of course, incorporated and discussed, though briefly, for he is not central to the theme of the book, and the chapter on the right to a hearing (one particular area of Professor de Smith's specialism) has been enlarged. Thus there emerges a complete and up-to-date book.

Why then should one start a review with the two curious quotations at the head of this? Simply because (as an optimist) one has a feeling that this book may yet turn out to be a great monument to an age that is passing – something of a Fearne on *Contingent Remainders* appearing, say, in 1920. That is not to argue that de Smith is out of date – far from it – but, the revolution might just happen, and Professor de Smith half admits it on page 7. "Awareness both of the deficiencies in the part played by courts in English administrative law and the merits of judicial review in France . . . and the United States is now widespread", adding that the dreams of those such as myself no longer appear infinitely remote. In a sense the book makes the case for that revolution – the creation of a true administrative jurisdiction. When Professor de Smith has to write (page 267) "Indeed at an early date the courts drew a distinction between judicial discretions and administrative discretions . . . and today the courts will often characterize a discretion as judicial when they wish to assert powers of review, but as executive or administrative when they wish to explain their inability or unwillingness to measure it by reference to any objective standard." he is saying that the courts by reason of a legacy of history have to use veiling words and the real substance is hidden. Of course confusion will result from that or when you are faced by a body of law built as on decisions in which "The Court of Appeal in Chancery sternly reproved a sanitary authority for having laid down a general rule that all cesspits in its area should be replaced by water

closets instead of having dealt with each case individually on its merits." (page 296). The illustration is extreme but, nevertheless, valid. The law has not looked at this whole process of judicial review as part of the governmental process. (How do you build a drain except as part of a drainage system?) It has looked at it exclusively from the other side. The signs of this are clear when (at p. 325) Professor de Smith compares *certiorari* decisions and *mandamus* decisions and has to conclude "With all respect these hair-splitting distinctions show the prerogative orders at their worst". Everyone, citizen and government, is ill served.

The legacy of the past matters simply because the past was different. The elegant philosophic phrases of Coke on "discretion" are fine in a 17th Century setting, they are nonsense in a 20th Century one, and yet they continue to be weighty. Indeed the reader should constantly put each decision against a background of the condition of government at that time and then consider its relevance today. Alas, without the revolution such fruitful exercises are vain. What Professor de Smith does is to trace with exemplary skill the legal pedigree of rules. But they and their consequences must be assessed in the light of political and governmental conditions. The reference above to Fearne was not random. The great conveyancers could rightly glory in the intricate precision of their skill. The trouble was that it was a skill detached from reality. Lord Birkenhead had to come and run a revolution. Let me be clear – when I am speaking of politics and government, I am speaking of political and administrative structures, not of parties. The importance of these elements are two-fold. First, one can avoid sentences like, alas, one of Professor de Smith's rare slips from grace when he praises a new office because it "need not impair the principle of ministerial responsibility" (page 43). On the one hand probably that doctrine cannot become any more impaired. It has already become an empty sham. On the other it probably ought to be impaired if something better can be instituted to do justice between citizen and government. Equally why should the citizen be as cribbed, cabined and confined by the Attorney General as he is in a relator action as Professor de Smith rightly shows him to be (on page 466). I, as a citizen, should have a far greater immediate and direct right to hit at administrators of whom I disapprove than I have, and should not be thus hedged in by an officer of the government. I could gain that right, come the revolution of public law, and government would gain too.

I hope I have not illegitimately used a review to expose my own views. I have only done so since these are the thoughts that a careful reading of the book provokes. By the care and skill with which the author has unravelled the tangled threads, he exposes also by implication all the inherent weaknesses, and the book should be read with gratitude and admiration from both points of view, but especially the latter.

J. D. B. MITCHELL

STATE POLITICS IN INDIA, edited by MYRON WEINER. (*Princeton University Press*; *London, Oxford University Press*; 1968); pp. 520; £5 15s.

In the political, economic and social conditions that prevail in India today, a book such as this collection of essays is welcome, describing as it does the

turn of political events in eight of the seventeen constituent states of the India Union, and covering about half of this vast nation of half a billion people spread over a million square miles. It fills part of a need that has, somewhat oddly, only recently begun to be seriously recognized; and while the treatment of the subject is topical to the present happenings in India, the book will also become a valuable standard reference.

The eight states covered in this volume present a fair variety and range of the different political features that prevail at the end of the country's first twenty-one years of independence. In three of them, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, (a single state of 80 million people), and West Bengal, the non-Congress coalition ministries have one after the other been toppled, largely by the efforts of Congress party politicians no less than the inherent instability of uneasy coalitions which were set up mainly to keep the Congress party out of power. These three states, together with Bihar, form a great band of northern states which are under central "President's" rule, and awaiting general elections early in 1969. Three others which are examined in this book are held by the Congress party, which also rules at the centre; they are Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, and Rajasthan; while of the remaining two, Madhya Pradesh has a rather unstable non-Congress coalition ministry, and Kashmir is ruled by the Congress party. An omission which perhaps needs to be made good is a study of at least one of the states which are fairly solidly anti-Congress: Madras (the one state where a local non-Congress party has formed a stable government on its own strength), Kerala, which is communist dominated and strongly anti-Congress, and Orissa, where the Congress has little force left for the present.

The scheme of the book is interesting, and somewhat typically American, where a professor gets a group together, and after a series of seminars and such brainstorming exercises the group members produce separate essays which are then combined into a published volume, the whole held together with a contribution by the organizer of it all; in this case Professor Weiner, who modestly describes himself as only the editor for the purpose of presenting these eight studies each by a different writer.

The individual authors of the different state studies each has his own distinct and individual approach, conditioned also in each instance by the circumstances prevailing in the particular state. For instance, the focus of the Punjab study is upon the integration of diverse social, linguistic, religious and regional groups into a single state, while the Andhra Pradesh essay concerns itself with the phenomenon of the rise of sub-castes such as the Reddis and the Kammas, their internal struggles for power, and the supervening rivalry between Brahmans and non-Brahmans. Inevitably, the quality and the depth of insight tends to vary amongst the authors, and reflects perhaps their own experience and closeness of association with the situation they were studying. If one might make a choice, two of the best essays in the volume, and penetrating in their analysis, are the ones by Puri on Kashmir, and by Bras on Uttar Pradesh.

In presenting these eight studies, Professor Weiner himself examines the more significant facets of the Indian political system. These include his comments upon the nature of Indian federalism, the structure and position of the Congress party, the Indian system of public administration, problems

of social and political integration, and a searching examination of the most important aspect, namely, the nature and extent of political participation by the people. In this participation, almost more than anything else, lies the future of democracy in India. Professor Weiner adds a penetrating, if brief, examination of the social and economic basis of conflict, and of the conditions for political stability. His prognosis that the defeat of the Congress party in many of the states in the 1967 general elections would be followed by a succession of unstable state governments has of course come about only too fully. Coalitions, by definition unstable and transitory in that they are arrangements of political convenience if not of political opportunism, have proved specially unstable and easy prey to the "toppling game" as it has come to be practised in India.

A passing comment here upon the habitual preoccupation of western authors with the problem of political stability, and their concern for any dangers, real or apparent, to established governments, especially in the newly independent nations. What is truly important is the safety and stability of a constitutional democratic system. Beyond this, stability can easily degenerate into stagnation. A democratic system must remain dynamic, changing in its political texture, and remaining capable of change. The British and the American systems are surely outstanding examples of this.

The agonizing problem before India as a nation today concerns the need to consolidate national integration, and at the same time to satisfy the powerful urge towards the political and economic autonomy of the constituent states of the Union. The federal features of the Indian Constitution and the centrifugal pressures towards decentralization, economic as well as political, were obscured until after the death of the first prime minister, Jwaharlal Nehru, in 1964; partly through Nehru's own unchallenged leadership throughout the country, and partly (combined with and in large part dependent upon that single leadership) the dominance of a single political party, the Congress party, both at the centre and in all the states.

At the end of 1968 the political picture is very different from what it was even up to about two years ago. The Congress party rules at the centre still, but with a thin majority in Parliament. Amongst the seventeen states of the Indian Union, the Congress party holds less than half; and in most of these there are bitter factional and personal rivalries amongst the Congressmen. Although the Congress party is still the most organized of all the parties anywhere, except perhaps in Madras and Kerala, it would be only through a long and determined struggle that it could ever again attain anything like the position which it formerly occupied.

Professor Weiner rightly rejects the conclusion which tempts some writers on the Indian condition, namely, that India should move to a more centralized system of government, with the states becoming little more than administrative arms of the centre. This did not happen, we may note, even in the days of British rule, when all political power was indeed centralized. The Constitution does in fact give the President the power to dismiss ministries, both in the states as well as at the centre. But although state ministries have been dismissed on several occasions, and quite frequently in recent months, this has in fact been done in each case by and upon the advice of the Congress government at the centre. What might happen if and when it comes to the

turn of the central ministry in some future constitutional crisis, lies in the lap of the gods. I have suggested elsewhere (*India's Defence Problem*: Longman's, 1968), that the balance of advantage for a country such as India lies in having a strong and independent President, with courage to intervene and if necessary dismiss a central ministry; but with no great political ambitions of his own, especially towards changing the provisions of the Constitution.

In any case, as Weiner points out, short of a dictatorial centre, presumably a military government, "it is most unlikely that the centre will be able to take powers away from the states. Indeed the trend has been just the reverse: the states have tended to become politically more autonomous and to accept central authority reluctantly". Recent events have underlined this. In fact, there is even a budding tendency on the part of the states to tell the central government as to how it should conduct its own business, even in foreign affairs, as for instance in the recent Czechoslovakian crisis. It seems to be a fair certainty that there will be a qualitative change in the relationships between the centre and the states of the Indian Union; that a new symbiosis will be evolved by trial and experiment, and not without struggle and pain; and that constitutional democracy in India will be enriched thereby.

S. S. KHERA

READINGS IN PANCHAYATI RAJ, Ed. GEORGE JACOB; *National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad,* 1967; pp. 166; Rs. 12.

The Indian experiment in *Panchayati Raj* has been receiving widespread attention in recent years. It has found its bands of admirers as well as critics, each caught up in the meshes of their own phraseology. The six field studies covered in Dr. Jacob's volume provide a welcome departure from the prevailing patterns of thinking and writing on the subject. The findings of the studies may not be surprising but the method adopted in arriving at them is distinctive. Some common features of the six studies are elaborations on the following points: (i) that *Panchayati Raj* institutions seem to concentrate on the welfare activities rather than developmental efforts. (ii) that there is universal reluctance to levy taxes and find fresh ways to mobilize local resources. (iii) that leadership is generally emerging from the upper economic strata and from relatively lower age groups of the rural society.

In their study of a Gujarat village, Shri K. C. Panchanadikar and Smt. Panchanadikar highlight the power and leadership dynamics. The authors bring out the dominance of the land-owning Anavil caste group in the village political system. In Dr. Inamdar's study of the functioning of four Maharastra village panchayats, two panchayats of longstanding existence worked successfully and on democratic lines; the other two which were established recently, were unsuccessful.

Professor Sarveswara Rao and Shri Ramana made a study of two panchayat samitis (local government unit at Block level) in Andhra. In one Samiti, the exemplary conduct of the samiti president was stated to be mainly responsible for its democratic functioning. Political processes of the other samiti do not appear to be as democratic as in the first. Behind the facade

of the unanimous election of the president and the show of smooth relationship between the officials and non-officials, the feudal hegemony of the powerful local Zamindari family was apparent. Caste was an important factor in both the samitis. One distinguishing feature of the study is the presentation of twelve cases of programme implementation in which the causes for success and failure are identified.

Dr. Iqbal Narain and Shri P. C. Mathur, in their Rajasthan Study, confirm the trend that in most cases caste played an important role in political competition. Also reported is the contrary trend of the declining importance of caste as a unit of political competition since factions had to be organized cutting across caste barriers. The study clearly brings out the links that were developing between the local political leaders and those of the higher political system. Further, the persistence of the election hostilities and bickerings seriously mitigated against the smooth functioning of the *Panchayati Raj* institutions. Discrimination of the minority political groups was more of a rule than an exception.

Some of the other important findings of the study are: that the role of the *Panchayati Raj* Institutions in the spheres of planning and development was far below the expected level; that the relationship between the officials and non-officials was by and large, marked by lack of mutual understanding and co-operation; that abuse of power by non-officials was a recurring phenomenon; that dual control over the extension staff created confusion and blurred the lines of responsibility; and that supervision and guidance by the district level technical officers was insufficient.

Shri K. S. Bhat reports in his Mysore study that since the introduction of *Panchayati Raj*, persons belonging to the age group of 20 to 30 years are getting into leadership positions. However, on further examination of the data, the Editor considers that there is no significant change in the overall age composition of the leadership. The Madras study presents a summary of the findings of the Opinion Survey the full report of which is already being published.

On the whole, the volume represents a breakthrough in applying the methods of empirical research to investigate the emerging trends in *Panchayati Raj*. As against the feeling prevailing in certain quarters that the system is the "cure-all" for all the ills that plague rural society, the findings of the present volume reassure us that we have not reached a dead-end in regard to the institutional pattern for rural development. Much will, however, depend upon the readiness of the policy-makers to initiate remedial action and bring about readjustments in the structure and the operating procedures of *Panchayati Raj*.

C. V. RAGHAVULU

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN TANZANIA, by STANLEY DRYDEN; *East African Publishing House, Nairobi*; bibliography & index; pp. 178; 16s. (E.A.).

What was the administrative system inherited by the independent Government of Tanganyika in 1961? How was that system reformed and integrated within the concept of a One-Party State? What are the prospects of achieving an efficient administration to implement on the ground the social and economic policies of the Government of Tanzania? Knowledgeable answers

are given by Mr. Dryden in his lucid, objective and sympathetically written study, contained with commendable self-discipline in no more than 175 pages of text.

In a vast sparsely populated country with the great majority of the people peasant agriculturalists, it is "in the field" that Government is seen and judged and by the competence of its administration in the field that success or failure of Government policies will be determined. Hence the particular value of this book which concentrates on the administrative problems faced at district and regional level.

With an exodus of expatriates, African officers of limited education and experience had perforce to fill high administrative posts serving political commissioners often less educated than themselves and unavoidably with no experience of the machinery of government – all at a time when popular enthusiasm at independence gave impetus to the national intent to achieve economic and social progress in every district. The burden placed on the administration by plans, projects, new legislation, widespread reform was such as would have strained the most competent experienced administration. That "management" did not collapse was due in part to the ebullience of youthful leadership and in part, as Mr. Dryden explains, to the full use made of and the responsibilities given to the Party organization. Inevitably as the new relationship between civil service and party developed, difficulties arose – most often created by clashes of personalities to which the Tanzania solution has been an attempt at full integration of its administration with its Party. Often hardest for those concerned to understand has been the independence of the Judiciary (always sustained by Dr. Nyerere) and some Primary Court Magistrates in distant villages have displayed considerable moral courage in the face of strong local political pressure; special legislation exists to deal with the appointment and discipline of such magistrates.

Mr. Dryden provides the first account to be noted of the Party Cell system which operates both in towns and villages, developed from the original network of provincial (becoming regional) district and sub-district branches of Tanu; the latter created the two vertical lines of communication with the centre that tended to make for much administrative difficulty (directions sent independently from a Ministry downwards through civil service channels, and those sent through the Party hierarchy). This leads Mr. Dryden, looking to the future to contemplate the possibility of the existing Regional administration being abolished and of the district party chairman, already chairman, ex-officio, of his local authority[1] assuming the overall control of his district in place of the commissioner, either from the party office or by moving into the offices of the administration. He does not regard such a prospect with entire disfavour – but such a policy would be fraught with danger for the government which would no longer have its directly appointed agent in each district, whose regional commissioners would no longer have the same direct control at district level, and besides the implementation of government policy particularly whenever that was in anyway in conflict with local interests would be all the harder to carry out.

[1]See Local Government in Tanzania, by Stanley Dryden published in two parts in the *Journal of Administration Overseas*, Vol. VI, Nos. 2 & 3, April & July 1967, which contains much of the material now covered in the Chapter headed Local Government.

"Local Administration in Tanzania" should be added to the writings on Tanzania by Dr. Tordoff as essential reading for students of one of Africa's most interesting and unusual regimes.

Finally, mention is made of a few debatable points that arise in the text:

Page 15 The relationship between Administration and local authority pre-independence was certainly not that of master and servant in many districts, councils were far more than "advisory" as suggested here and, for example, in the sphere of declaring local customary law changes, very effective and far reaching powers were exercised by some councils.

Page 30 The late Sheikh Amri Abedi certainly had his doubts about the efficiency of some civil servants (don't we all?), but in fairness to his memory this reviewer records from his own close personal knowledge how Sheikh Amri appreciated (sometimes with astonished admiration!) the work of civil servants in his region and subsequently in his ministry.

Page 33 *F.N.* 18 The title of Permanent Secretary was dropped in 1965 not 1956.

Page 37 Mr. Namata has since been transferred to a field posting and is no longer head of the civil service.

Page 60 *F.N.* 24 The structure of the Cotton Co-operatives in the Lake Victoria area has since been radically reorganized.

Page 69 Political commissioners were *not* granted *all* the legal powers of their civil service predecessors. Concurrently with the appointment of the first area commissioners, the judiciary was divorced from the executive and commissioners together with their administrative officers no longer held magisterial powers nor any authority over local (subsequently primary) courts. Special limited J.P. powers were accorded, and also the arrest powers of commissioners to which reference is made.

Page 91 It is surprising to read that the small and relatively poor Tunduru Council earned £25,000 p.a. from rent of market booths.

Page 104 *F.N.* 6 The number of better educated chiefs who obtained further important employment with central and local government and with para-statal organizations was greater than the general reader would infer from this footnote.

Chapter 6 It is arguable whether the KNCU on Kilimanjaro or the Victoria Federation took pride of place in the pre-independence development of the co-operative movement of Tanganyika into possibly the largest of its kind in Africa – one of the colonial government's greatest achievements. Certainly during the post-war coffee boom the KNCU paid out far more *per capita* to its 30,000 or more coffee-growing members, than any cotton co-operatives.

Page 163 Mention might have been made in a footnote to the report of Prof. W. J. M. Mackenzie, Special Commissioner, in 1952 on the practicability of setting up County Councils. If Regional Development Committees were given some real financial responsibility on the lines now being followed in Zambia, the main purpose of Mr. Dryden's argument might well be met. P.H.J.

Other Books Received

THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY, 1868—1968, by TREVOR R. REESE; *O.U.P.*, 1968; illustrations, appendices, index; pp. 280; 45s.

Dr. Reese, senior lecturer at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London here produced much more than the title may suggest. He relates in an interesting and scholarly book the development of the Royal Commonwealth Society to that of the British Empire and Commonwealth over the last hundred years. He describes and assesses the influence of the Society on British policy and attitudes; its contribution to the promotion of knowledge of Commonwealth countries, of mutual understanding between its peoples and of the problems of the old Empire and new Commonwealth.

The contribution of the Society in the fields of education and trade are among other topics touched on and the overseas branches are not neglected. The history deserves an honoured place on the shelves of every Commonwealth library.

CANADIAN—WEST INDIAN UNION: A FORTY YEAR MINUET, by ROBIN W. WINKS; *University of London—The Athlone Press*; with notes; pp. 54; 12s. 6d.

Two flirtatious interludes in Canadian history, affairs with Jamaica and with the Bahamas are recounted here by Professor Winks with a light but very knowledgeable pen. The likelihood of Union was perhaps never very real, no one else voted with Solomon in 1884 when he proposed in the Jamaica Legislative Council, "Commercial and political confederation with Canada" (where there was interest but no enthusiasm); the real interest was in the expansion of commerce. Later T. B. Macauley, co-founder of the C.P.R. led a crusade for Canadian Union with the Bahamas and strange to say found a supporter in the then Colonial Governor (who received a wigging from the Colonial Office for his pains). The last and probably the only real chance of effecting some form of Union came at the end of the First World War, when Premier Borden had the sympathetic ear of his fellow-Premier Lloyd George, but while he liked the idea of some closer more formal ties than those of commerce alone, he did not press for Territory and "in the cold corridors of Versailles Canadian-West Indian Union was lost". The question had never perhaps been taken very seriously save by a few keen advocates.

Few will now doubt that it was best for Canada to emerge from war without territorial aggrandizement and to concentrate instead on "close practical co-operation" leading to the considerable participation of Canada in an aid programme for the Caribbean that has been furthered by Lester Pearson.

THE WORLD EDUCATION CRISIS—A SYSTEMS ANALYSIS, by PHILIP H. COOMBS; *Oxford University Press*, 1968; appendices and index; pp. 241; 51s. (hardback), 21s 6d. (paperback).

Mr. Coombs' book began as the basic working paper for the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education held in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1967.

The argument is that the resources devoted to education, teachers, buildings and money, despite ever-increasing expenditure, have lagged behind the essential needs of the world-wide "student flood"; the result inadequate systems, the end product educated unemployed. The answer based on international co-operation, on an educational interchange between nations is, Mr. Coombs believes "modernization" of management methods, of teachers' training, of students' learning process, plus the strengthening of educational finance and greater emphasis on non-formal schooling.

DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, A SELECT READING LIST, introduced by Prof. PAUL STREETEN; *The Economists' Bookshop.*

This booklet provides a valuable reading list with sections on The Theory of Economic Development, Case Studies, Development Planning and International Economic Relations.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT TRAINING, *United Nations* (*ST/TAO/M/40*), 1968; pp. 134; $2.50.

Produced by the Public Administration Division of the U.N. Department of Social and Economic Affairs, this is described as a "comparative analysis of local government training programmes . . . aimed mainly for the use of officials in developing countries . . . as well as technical assistance experts". Extracts from the study appear in the Quarterly Notes section of this Journal, of particular interest is Chapter V, an analysis of correspondence study.

POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER, Ed. MICHAEL BANTON; *Tavistock Publications;* pp. 142; 19s.

As Max Gluckman and Fred Eggan explain in their Introduction this volume has emerged from a conference of Anglo-American social anthropologists held at Cambridge in 1963.

The title is perhaps a little grandiose when the content in fact relates in the main to pressure politics in Indian village Panchayats, North American Indian factions, a rather sketchy miscellany of somewhat out-dated African Kingdom politics; however, for the anthropologist and sociologist there is much of interest.

WHO CONTROLS INDUSTRY IN KENYA?, Report of a Working Party; *East African Publishing House;* bibliography; pp. 279; (E.A.) 11s.

Published for the National Christian Council of Kenya, this admirably prepared report provides a very full and clearly stated "who's who and what's what" in the whole diversity of Kenya's industries. The private, quasi-public and public sectors are identified, sections are devoted to government and foreign finance, and Part Two provides a summary assessment and review of major issues. In conclusion while recommending that Kenya hold to its policy of a mixed economy, the report considers there is "a case for strengthening certain elements in the interest of social accountability" to avoid the development of a privileged managerial class which could divide society into groups with antagonistic interests. Greater popular involvement and influence in the industrial and commercial sectors is the solution offered.

The tail-piece provided is an interesting chart showing the structure of the Unga-Riziki Group (originally millers) in East Africa with its diverse interests in Uganda and Tanzania as well as Kenya.

AFRICAN NATIONALISM, by NDABANINGI SITHOLE, *Oxford University Press,* 1968; pp. 196; 35s. (paperback 15s.)

In this new edition of his part-autobiography, part-philosophy of African nationalism, Mr. Sithole has revised and brought the historical material up to U.D.I. date, in the leisure that his prolonged detention has allowed. One is struck by the absence of any bitterness, by the balanced, even gentle, approach to the grave political situation of Rhodesia, and by the light felicitous manner with which he recounts his own upbringing.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS: AN INTRODUCTION, by JACK D. FLEER; *North Carolina: University Press, London; Oxford University Press;* pp. 165; 47s. 6d. (hardback), 24s. (paperback).

The author studies in depth the political way of life in predominantly Democratic North Carolina, and sets out clearly, supported by facts and figures, the electoral procedure and inter-party competition in this state.

A GUIDE TO THE FORM AND DRAFTING OF CONVEYANCES, by P. G. WILLOUGHBY; *Sweet & Maxwell, London; African Universities Press, Lagos,* 1968; index; pp. 55; 17s. 6d.

A GUIDE TO THE LAW AND PRACTICES OF COSTS, by BRIAN W. HARVEY; *Sweet & Maxwell, London; African Universities Press, Lagos,* 1968; index; pp. 36; 17s. 6d.

Legal practitioners in Nigeria are fortunate to have available these two further useful publications in the Nigerian Practice Notes series.

Printed in England for HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
by Trafford Press Ltd., Manchester M16 9HP

Dd. No. 152155. K15. 4/69.